

Warning to outside forces

IDF enters Jounieh, then leaves

Post Defence Correspondent

Israeli forces early Sunday morning took up positions in and around the Christian port of Jounieh, north of Beirut. The move was aimed at preventing any elements of the proposed multi-national force destined for West Beirut from taking up positions without prior Israeli approval.

Israeli Television reported last night that the main part of the Israel Defence Forces contingent in Jounieh left the city at about 11 a.m. yesterday after an agreement was reached with the Lebanese Army and the American military attaches regarding access to the port. The Israeli force arrived in the town on Sunday before dawn. The commander of the Israeli force, an aluf-mishne (colonel), entered a Lebanese Army camp and demanded that the Lebanese Army prevent any air or naval traffic from entering the port without prior Israeli consent.

The demand was aimed primarily at preventing American marines from being ferried into Jounieh from

the carrier Guam, which is patrolling off the Lebanese coast. For several weeks now American forces have been landing at Jounieh, which took on new significance for the IDF in view of increased reports of the intention to land members of a multi-national force in West Beirut before the PLO has started to leave the city.

The IDF spokesman's office, asked to comment on events in Jounieh yesterday, would say only that "the IDF's movements in Lebanon Sunday were the same as they have been for the past month." He refused to elaborate.

Yesterday was the first time, however, that any sizeable IDF force has entered the city, which has been under Christian control since the beginning of the civil war.

Yesterday, three positions were established: one in a Lebanese military camp east of the city, a second in a Lebanese naval facility, and a third at the southern entrance to the port.

Shamir says PLO must admit defeat

Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — Israel seeks to oust the PLO from Lebanon by diplomatic means, but not before it admits its defeat and announces that its role is ended, Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir said here yesterday.

Speaking at a Herut rally here, Shamir also said that the refusal of Arab states to come to the aid of the Palestinians in Lebanon is a continuation of their refusal since 1948 to deal with the Palestinian refugee problem.

Begin thanks Reagan for veto

Post Diplomatic Reporter

Prime Minister Menachem Begin wrote to U.S. President Ronald Reagan yesterday to thank him for the U.S. veto against sanctions at the UN Security Council last week. The veto had blocked a move supported by "certain hypocritical states," Begin wrote.

According to one source, Begin was aiming this barb at France, which in the past had opposed Security Council sanctions against any country, supposedly out of high principle, but had now supported the sanction call against Israel.

Begin wrote to U.S. Senator Charles Percy to apologize for having blasted him last week before a supportive audience of U.S. Jewish fund raisers in the Knesset for having allegedly demanded that Israel be forced to its knees. Percy had written to Begin to prove he had been misquoted.

Argov comes home

Post Diplomatic Reporter

Israel's ambassador to London, Shlomo Argov, who has been in a British hospital since a PLO gunman shot him on June 3, arrived due to at Ben-Gurion Airport last night and was transferred at once to the Hadassah Medical Centre in Ein Kerem, Jerusalem.

Argov's family flew in with the wounded ambassador.

At Hadassah he will be under the personal care of brain surgeon Abraham Heller, who visited him in London several times.

IDF ready for anything as negotiations continue

By HIRSH GOODMAN
Post Defence Correspondent
and Agencies

While diplomatic moves were being made toward a possible solution to the West Beirut imbroglio, the Israel Defence Forces yesterday continued its siege of PLO strongholds there and to maintain its alertness to any eventuality.

According to a senior defence source yesterday, "One thing has little to do with the other. It is the army's business to be absolutely and totally prepared to carry out whatever the government decides."

Israeli military sources said Beirut was "relatively quiet" yesterday, with intermittent artillery exchanges going virtually unnoticed by the general population. Sniper fire and local exchanges of small arms fire also continued. In Ouzai, a military vehicle ran over a mine, which exploded without causing injuries.

The Associated Press, however, reported that heavy artillery battles erupted yesterday between the IDF and the PLO as U.S. presidential envoy Philip Habib met Defence Minister Ariel Sharon east of Beirut.

Volleys of PLO Grad missiles and Katyusha rockets slammed into suburban Ba'abda and Yaize

townships, eight kilometres east of the Lebanese capital, as Habib and Sharon were in conference at American Ambassador Robert Dillon's Yaze mansion.

AP correspondent Samuel Koo was in Ba'abda when the duel broke out at 3 p.m. Two rockets landed about 50 metres from Koo and as he drove down the road to East Beirut more rockets crashed nearby.

Koo said he saw Israeli tanks and artillery pounding the PLO-controlled Burj al-Barajneh fortified Palestinian refugee camp and the two neighbouring quarters of Hay al-Saloun and Lailaki close to the IDF-occupied Beirut International Airport. Palestinians fired rocket barrages into Ba'abda, where the IDF military command is situated.

The IDF yesterday reopened, after a two-week cutoff, the valve that controls the flow of water to the 500,000 residents of West Beirut. However, it takes about 36 hours to fill up West Beirut's reservoirs and with electricity and fuel still blocked by the IDF, water would not reach anything above the first floor of apartment buildings yesterday.

The drastic water shortage aggravated the threat of epidemics in a city full of uncollected garbage

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Two Haddad militia companies join IDF in Beirut

METULLA. — Two companies of Major Sa'ad Haddad's militia, equipped with tanks, armoured personnel carriers and 120mm mortars, left southern Lebanon recently to join Israel Defence Forces units in Beirut.

The units drove to Beirut along the Lebanese coastal road, with

every vehicle flying the flag of "Free Lebanon."

Before leaving for Beirut, the men were briefed by their officers in militia headquarters in Marjayoun and told of the importance of their mission. In recent weeks many militiamen have helped round up terrorists in southern Lebanon.

Moslem dignitary calls for W. Bank strike today

The head of the Supreme Moslem Council in Jerusalem yesterday called on Arabs in Judea and Samaria to strike today and to devote their thoughts to what he called the Palestinian tragedy in Lebanon.

Sheikh Sa'ad al-Din al-Alami said, in his announcement, that the bombing of Beirut was carried out by "the forces of darkness." He also

attacked the Arab countries for their impotence.

A group of women representing all the Arab women's organizations in Judea and Samaria yesterday held a sit-down and hunger strike at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to protest against the war in Lebanon. They were dispersed without incident after several hours.

Begin offers deal on int'l force, but PLO still has no place to go

Sharon denies agreement on PLO exit from Beirut

By ASHER WALLFISH
Post Diplomatic Reporter

Prime Minister Menachem Begin yesterday wrote U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz that an international force could take up position in West Beirut after "most" of the PLO had left. Israel no longer insists upon its previous condition that the arrival of the force must await the departure of each and every PLO member, Begin wrote.

In a swift reply to the secretary's message (which reached his office yesterday morning), Begin also said that the international force would have to eject any PLO members who refuse to follow the rest of the terrorists out.

The force, he wrote, would have to agree to a pre-condition, that if it did not wish to eject any PLO stragglers, it would have to stand aside and let the Lebanese Army or the Israel Defence Forces do the job.

Begin wrote Shultz that the Syrian soldiers left in West Beirut would also have to go, along with the PLO.

Israel would not put up with any

partisan initiatives on the part of the French to create a *fait accompli*, by landing troops which the PLO could use as a defensive screen, Begin wrote.

It was ascertained yesterday that the Lebanese government had not invited the French to send in a contingent as yet, according to one senior official, who declared: "No force can land in Beirut or Jounieh if we do not want it to land."

Shultz's message (which reached Begin before the cabinet session) expressed the secretary's conviction that progress had been made by U.S. mediator Philip Habib and that once "certain outstanding questions were settled an agreement could be close." Shultz wrote that Habib would submit to Israel a final draft of an evacuation agreement within 48 hours.

Begin submitted the gist of his planned reply to the ministers for their approval and left the session before it ended, putting Deputy Prime Minister Simha Ehrlich in the chair to write out the message.

The reply was sent off so as to reach Washington yesterday, before Habib in Beirut wrapped up what

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

Only Jordan agrees to take any PLO men

By DAVID BERNSTEIN
Post Middle East Affairs Reporter
and Agencies

The continued refusal of most Arab states, including Syria, to accept any of the PLO forces trapped in West Beirut emerged yesterday as the main obstacle to a speedy resolution of the crisis in the Lebanese capital.

As of yesterday, only Jordan had agreed to take in a limited number of the trapped PLO men, with Prime Minister Mudar Badran telling the National Consultative Council in Amman that "if the PLO chooses to withdraw from Beirut, Jordan will welcome those returnees who have Jordanian nationality, in accordance with the constitution and the law."

Badran's remarks yesterday were the first public announcement of the Jordanian position, although it was reportedly conveyed privately to U.S. special envoy Philip Habib in London two weeks ago by King Hussein.

Observers then estimated that the number involved could be anything from 800 to 2,000 men.

Syria was last night reported as confirming its refusal to host PLO evacuees from Beirut "under present circumstances" and is continuing to insist that Israel first withdraw its forces from Lebanon.

"The Syrians want to hear about an Israeli evacuation from Beirut and from Lebanon," well-informed sources in Damascus were quoted as saying, "and as long as nobody gives them the word on that, they will not negotiate."

The Syrian position is probably now the major stumbling block in the current negotiations. According to a plan submitted to Habib by the PLO last week, Syria was to have been the main staging area for PLO evacuees from Beirut until they move on to various other Arab states.

Egypt, which has in recent days been tipped as the proposed destination for members of the more moderate PLO groups trapped in Beirut, yesterday also poured cold water on reports to this effect.

"Egypt affirms anew that it absolutely will not accept the Palestinians departing Beirut except in the light of an overall solution of the Palestinian problem," Egyptian

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Begin: Plan for PLO exit from Beirut not a 'fraud'

By ASHER WALLFISH
Post Diplomatic Reporter

Prime Minister Menachem Begin took an obvious side-swipe at Defence Minister Ariel Sharon in the cabinet yesterday for accusing senior U.S. diplomats of "fraud."

The *Jerusalem Post* had learned that American officials have been expressing their "shock" over the past three days "through various channels" both over Sharon's public statements and over the views conveyed by his chief aide Uri Dan.

Sharon has accused the U.S. ambassador in Beirut, Robert Dillon, and mediator Philip Habib himself of deceiving their superiors in Washington and of conniving with the French and the PLO in a plan to enable the PLO to stay put in Beirut.

In the cabinet, Begin dissociated himself from Sharon by criticizing "certain Christian circles in Lebanon who had dismissed the Habib negotiations as fraud and deception." Begin said these circles "have no right to describe the plan for the PLO exodus in that manner."

Begin said: "We must exhaust the diplomatic process to the full. I have no desire at all to see our forces going into West Beirut, because of our possible casualties, among others. I am not sorry at all that we did not finish off the conquest of West Beirut right at the start."

Turning to the Lebanese Christians (whose alleged criticism of Habib had not been widely reported), Begin said that Israel

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

El Al employees angry over latest kashrut deal

By HAIM SHAPIRO
Jerusalem Post Reporter

El Al was busy kashering its pots and pans yesterday in what the chief rabbi described as a "revolution" in kashrut observance in Israel.

The national airline's kashrut certificate was twice suspended by Chief Rabbis Ovadia Yosef and Shlomo Goren in the past week. But the chief rabbi told *The Jerusalem Post*, that from this morning, observant Jews can eat the food on El Al flights without fear of breaking the dietary laws.

El Al workers yesterday threatened to disrupt food supplies

to foreign aircraft on the Sabbath. The move is designed to torpedo an arrangement between the El Al subsidiary that produces the food and the rabbinate.

The subsidiary — Tamam — produces meals for KLM, British Airways, Swissair, Austrian Airlines, SAS, Maof and several other charter companies, in addition to El Al.

According to the agreement under which the rabbinate declared the food to be kosher, El Al will no longer be permitted to transport the food from Tamam to the planes on the Sabbath. Each airline instead

will have to fetch its own food.

El Al's staff committee regarded this as a move to implement the government's decision to ground the national carrier on the Sabbath.

"They're taking the work away from us and other Jews (employed by foreign airlines) will get the work," shop committee spokesman Gabi Salzman complained to *The Jerusalem Post*. The workers will act to prevent others from robbing them of their work, he stressed.

The furor began last week after the Sabbath Observance Committee, a private religious group based in Bnei Brak, conducted a surprise Shabbat check on Tamam, the El Al catering subsidiary, and reportedly found it working at full force.

On Monday the committee reported to Rabbi Yosef, who asked the Tamam management to meet him on Wednesday. When the latter failed to show up, the two chief rabbis announced they were rescinding their kashrut certification of El Al.

The chief rabbi said yesterday that not only had work been carried out on Shabbat at Tamam, but there had also been infringements of kashrut itself. The same trays, they

said, had been used for meat and dairy dishes.

They also said that the Tamam kashrut supervisor had been intimidated by the management. As a result, they said, all kashrut supervisors will now be paid through the local religious councils or the Religious Affairs Ministry.

Following the announcement that certification had been rescinded, the Tamam management and El Al quickly arranged a meeting with the chief rabbis on Friday. There they agreed that work would stop on Shabbat, and that within a month the kitchens would be locked on the Shabbat, with the key handed over to the airport rabbi.

However, the rabbis said, they learned that this weekend the kitchen was again functioning on Saturday. According to the chief rabbis, the management said it had not understood that the agreement was to go into force immediately.

As a result, the chief rabbis again suspended the kashrut certification and yesterday again met with representatives of the catering company. A new understanding was then reached.

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HELSINKI	18	15	22	Cloudy
HONG KONG	27	21	34	Cloudy
JERUSALEM	24	18	30	Clear
LONDON	18	15	22	Cloudy
MADRID	18	15	22	Cloudy
MUNICH	18	15	22	Cloudy
NEW YORK	20	15	27	Clear
OSLO	18	15	22	Cloudy
PARIS	18	15	22	Cloudy
PRAGUE	18	15	22	Cloudy
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THE WEATHER

	Yesterday's	Today's
Jerusalem	22	18-27
Golan	20	15-25
Nahariya	20	15-25
Safed	20	15-25
Haifa Port	20	15-25
Tiberias	20	15-25
Nazareth	20	15-25
Afula	20	15-25
Shomron	20	15-25
Tel Aviv	20	15-25
B-G Airport	20	15-25
Jericho	20	15-25
Caesarea	20	15-25
Beersheba	20	15-25
Eilat	20	15-25

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

The Samuel and Isabelle Friedman Wing, housing the Sanford F. Kuvim Centre for the Study of Infectious and Tropical Diseases, was dedicated yesterday at the Hebrew University-Hadassah Medical School in Ein Karem. Present were University president Abraham Harman, vice-president Bernard Cherrick, Scientific Attaché Dennis Jett of the U.S. Embassy, Dr. Sanford Kuvim of Florida and Jerusalem, Kuvim Centre Chairman Prof. Charles Greenblatt, Protozoology Department head Prof. Dan Spira, HMO Director-General Dr. Shmuel Penchas, Dean of Medical Faculty Prof. Rami Rahamimoff, Mr. Bernard Bloomfield of Montreal, staff of the Kuvim Centre and invited guests. The Wing, established by the late Samuel and Isabelle Friedman of Detroit and San Francisco, is situated in the new David Davis Building.

The Jerusalem Journalists Association yesterday awarded an honorary membership certificate to Meir Ben-Gur, former secretary-general of the Tel Aviv Journalists Association and secretary of the Israel Press Council, for his life-long work for the cause of journalism and press freedom in Israel.

DEPARTURES

Prisons Commissioner Mordechai Wertheimer, to the U.S., to attend an international congress on prisons and a convention on prisoner rehabilitation.

SAFETY FIRST. — The Institute for Safety and Accident Prevention cautions demobilized reservists to be doubly careful when returning to work. It pointed out that work accidents rose by 31 per cent in the year following the Six Day War and 11.5 per cent in the year after the Yom Kippur War.

Emunah Convention Opens in Jerusalem Despite War Tensions

Despite repeated references to the tense situation in Lebanon and the absence of guest speaker, Minister of Education Ze'evulun Hammer, who was attending an emergency cabinet meeting, Emunah Women of America opened their National Convention on a note of optimism at the Knesset.

"We want to demonstrate to the world that we, the Jewish people, are one," said Pearl Greene, Chairman of America Emunah's Board, opening the ceremonies in the presence of Israel's President Yitzhak Navon. Over 100 religious Zionist women, representing the 15,000 members in the U.S., came to demonstrate their solidarity with Israel and to carry out their organization's business in Israel. That includes celebrating the graduation of the first class of Israel's first religious school for girls for dental technology, dedicating a child care center in the new Judean Hills town of Efrat, and an information gathering tour of northern settlements and Lebanon.

Rabbanit Zvia Goren, President of World Emunah, Mrs. Tova Sanhedral-Goldreich, Chairman of Emunah-Israel and Mrs. Sarah Stern-Kattan, of Emunah's executive stressed the need for unity, cooperation and aliyah in times of crisis.

Graduation exercises for the Barry and Bina Appleman School of Dental Technology followed. After congratulating the new graduates and beseeching them "to work delicately — it hurts," President Navon turned to the American Women and urged them to exercise the privileges of their unique role of being religious Zionists, and to use their position to engage non-Zionist and anti-Zionist members of the religious community in a dialogue about the centrality of the State of Israel. He decried the declining numbers of those who identify themselves as Jews in the United States, and pointed out that more than half of the Jewish children in America "receive no Jewish education at all."

"I call on Emunah Women to fulfil their historical role, both to debate with the non-Zionists and to propagate the urgency and need of education and Jewish consciousness, to prevent assimilation and alienation of the Jewish people."

Mrs. Hanna Appleman Goldberg, daughter of benefactors Barry and Bina Appleman, presented diplomas to the modestly dressed young girls who have completed the two and a half year course at the Emunah Community College. Among the graduates were new olim from Argentina, Belgium, Russia, Morocco, Iran and the United States. Other graduates came from the rural villages of Hazer and Kfar Zeitim near Tiberias and many other settlements. One young woman, Hannah Rebinowitz, was represented by her proud parents. The young graduate could not receive her diploma herself because she had given birth to a baby girl that day.

Barbara Sofer
(Communicated)

HOME AND WORLD NEWS

Saudis ask all Arab leaders to attend 'crucial' summit

RIYADH. — Saudi Arabian state radio yesterday urged all Arab heads of state to personally attend an Arab summit conference, tentatively scheduled for next week, so that certain "crucial decisions" could be taken — hinting that the eight-point Fahd Middle East peace plan might be revived.

The radio, in its main political commentary, also said there is growing consensus "on considering the summit as a resumption of the dialogue" started at last November's aborted Arab summit in Fez, Morocco.

The Fez summit was adjourned after one session because of differences over the Saudi eight-point proposal for Arab-Israeli peace — implying eventual pan-Arab recognition of Israel — advanced by then crown prince Fahd of Saudi Arabia.

The radio said that, unless attendance at the summit is "at the level of decision-making," and unless decisions are actually taken, "future pan-Arab action may be paralyzed and the international community may abandon us for good."

It said Saudi Arabia has "a great degree of confidence and optimism" that the projected conference will be held successfully.

Arab League secretary-general Chadi Klibi, in an interview with

the Saudi newspaper *Okaz*, expressed similar optimism and said that the necessary quorum for convening a summit has already been achieved. He did not go into specifics, however.

Gulf press reports say eight Arab countries and the PLO wish the Arab foreign ministers conference, scheduled for tomorrow in Tunis, to decide the venue of the proposed summit.

The eight countries are Syria, Algeria, North Yemen, South Yemen, Somalia, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait and Qatar.

Five other countries — Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Bahrain, Oman and Djibouti — have already backed Moroccan King Hassan's call for convening the summit in Fez as a continuation of last November's, parley, these reports say.

However, Arab diplomatic sources in the Gulf said that holding the summit in Fez could create a problem, because of Morocco's strained relations with Libya and Algeria.

Morocco led a group of 19 African states that boycotted the Organization of African Unity summit in Tripoli because of the admission of the Polisario movement fighting in western Sahara.

The meeting has been held up for the last five days for lack of a quorum. (AP, Reuters)

BEGIN: PLAN

(Continued from Page One)

paid a heavy price for Operation Peace for Galilee.

Nobody, he said, had come forward to do the job in Beirut instead of the Israel Defence Forces.

There is some dissatisfaction in Jerusalem over the fact that the Lebanese Christian Phalange, which helps give a picture of developments in West Beirut, has allegedly been slanting its information in some instances providing a very selective view. The Phalange has done its best to influence the responsible ministers here towards a totally pessimistic view of the prospects of the Habib mission.

Sharon's view and the Phalange view often coincide.

Sharon's unprecedentedly harsh words about Dillon and Habib sent a shock wave through American officials in Washington and Tel Aviv, it is understood.

Their shock was transmitted to Begin and to lower echelons in various ways. Sharon's declarations were labelled "wholly unwarranted and untrue accusations." *The Post* was authoritatively told.

When the Defence Ministry was queried late Saturday night on the nature of the senior source who issued the charges, the blame was laid at the door of an official in the Prime Minister's Office. *The Post*

checked to its satisfaction that this official was not involved.

The Prime Minister admitted him yesterday in a circuitous way that some of the moves made by the IDF last week had not been cleared with him in advance. These were precisely the moves last week that alarmed President Ronald Reagan and motivated him to send an urgent personal message to Begin.

In reply to a comment from Deputy Prime Minister David Levy, Begin said: "I always know everything that goes on, either beforehand or afterwards."

Levy asked a question about the taking of the airport and of the Ouzai refugee camp, and Interior Minister Yosef Burg noted sarcastically: "Don't ask too many questions or you'll be labelled as weak-kneed." (This phrase weak-kneed had been used in one of the Friday papers by one of the Likud's most uncritical supporters.)

The *Post* learned that some ministers telephoned Begin late on Saturday night to ask whether he knew of "a certain development."

Begin's reply was not available to *The Post*. The ministers who phoned, Begin were acting on information they had received from a large number of worried Israeli citizens, and not from the media or through official channels.

Sudan accuses Libya of subversion

CAIRO (UPI). — A Sudanese army general announced yesterday the discovery of a plan, masterminded by Libya and another unnamed African country, to create disturbances in southern Sudan, the Middle East News Agency reported.

In a Khartoum-dated dispatch, the agency said Maj-Gen Seddik el-Banna, commander of the First Infantry Division, announced that his troops had seized leaflets urging citizens to launch an armed revolution.

The leaflets, which were seized during the past two months in southern Sudan, were signed by "the Revolutionary Arab-Sudanese

Committees." El-Banna blamed the scheme on Libya and another African country that he declined to name, the agency said.

Sudan and Libya are ruled by rival regimes, and Sudanese President Jaafar Numeiri has accused the Libyan government on previous occasions of trying to overthrow his government.



Avraham Burg (right), son of Interior Minister Yosef Burg, Nahum Karlin (center) and Alon Shemi (left) outside the Prime Minister's Office in Jerusalem yesterday morning. The three presented the prime minister with a petition, signed by 2,000 front-line reserve soldiers, calling on the government not to order the Israel Defence Forces into West Beirut, but to take advantage of the current situation for negotiations. (Rahamim Israeli)

JORDAN-PLO

(Continued from Page One)

Foreign Minister Kamal Hassan Ali said in Cairo yesterday, adding that "all reports to the contrary are not true."

Cairo has publicly announced that it intends turning the PLO's military defeat in Lebanon into a political victory. This would account for its continued insistence on direct linkage between a solution to the crisis in Beirut and an overall solution to the Palestine problem.

Sudan, which appears to be closely coordinating its Lebanon policy with Egypt, last week made a similar linkage between its declared readiness to accept PLO evacuees from Beirut and an overall settlement.

For all that, former Lebanese prime minister Sa'eb Salam — who has been acting as one of the chief conduits between the PLO and Habib — insisted yesterday that the question of a haven for the Beirut evacuees was not a major one. He asserted, contrary to all reports, that Iraq and Sudan had agreed to take in some of the trapped men, while Damascus had agreed to harbor those who had come from Syria.

Given the current position of the Arab states most closely associated in recent reports with a solution to the crisis in Beirut — Salam's optimism notwithstanding — the situation could conceivably arise where the PLO agrees to all of Israel's conditions for its withdrawal from Beirut but, apart from a few hundred men whom Jordan has agreed to accept, will have nowhere to go.

This could place Israel in a difficult position, as Jerusalem would clearly find it difficult to hold the PLO responsible for the refusal of the Arab states to take in its trapped forces.

It would also render theoretical the question of the timing of the deployment of the proposed multinational peace-keeping force in Beirut. Israel continues to insist that this can take place only after most of the PLO forces have left the Lebanese capital.

Nevertheless, Habib met for two hours yesterday in Bab'ad with U.S. military experts, the ambassadors of France and Italy and Lebanese Army officers to discuss preparations for the deployment of the proposed force.

"The situation is approaching a solution," Italian ambassador Franco Otteri told reporters

afterward. "Together with our American and French friends, we are making preparations for the eventual deployment of a multinational force."

Ottieri said the deployment timetable "depends on many factors," including Habib's scheduled meeting with Defence Minister Ariel Sharon later in the day.

The PLO publicly announced for the first time yesterday, in its paper *Falastin al-Ahwa*, that it had decided to withdraw from Beirut. "We have taken the decision to pull out of Beirut militarily," the paper told its readers in yesterday's edition. "The possibility of the destruction of Beirut over the heads of half a million Moslems... is no longer just a possibility, but an established fact."

High-ranking PLO officials were quoted as saying that Israel's "indiscriminate bombing" of West Beirut a week ago and again on Wednesday convinced the PLO they could no longer hope to hang on in Beirut.

"That was the message," a top aide to PLO chairman Yasser Arafat said yesterday. "They were saying: 'We will destroy Beirut.'"

Coinciding with the conviction that Israel will stop at nothing to get the PLO out of West Beirut is the growing certainty that Israel is now determined to kill the organization's leaders.

The PLO said it has intelligence that an Israeli warplane bombed an eight-storey apartment building in West Beirut on Saturday, killing as many as 250 persons, mostly refugees, because it believed Arafat was in the building.

It says a new kind of weapon was used in the bombing — the only bomb attack of the day — and the PLO is now trying to determine what it was.

"There was no explosion," said a PLO official who was near the building at the moment of the blast. "They want to kill the leadership. Without this man, Arafat, the PLO would take many years to build again."

A close PLO collaborator of Arafat's is quoted as saying yesterday that the PLO might well establish its formal headquarters in Tunis, seat of the Arab League. But he said he did not know where Arafat himself would go. "You cannot ask him this," the aide said. "It's not a question. It's a bomb."



The first group of some 300 Jewish volunteers arrive from North America on Friday on their way to work at and help guard border settlements in the Golan Heights and Galilee. Volunteers will receive special training at a camp set up by the Israel Defence Forces alongside the Midreshet Hagolan field school near Katzrin. (M. Dekel)

IDF PREPARES

(Continued from Page One)

piles and war-ravaged hospitals overflowing with casualties.

"Every doctor I speak to says every possible condition for an epidemic is now present and it is only a question of time," John Desalis, regional director of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Beirut, told the Associated Press.

Diseases such as scabies, conjunctivitis, gastroenteritis and diarrhea are already prevalent among West Beirut's residents, he added.

No U.S. mission

probing arms use

WASHINGTON (UPI). — Congressional spokesmen have denied an official congressional delegation is in Lebanon monitoring possible Israeli violations of U.S. arms sales agreements.

The disavowal came after a spokesman for a group, identifying itself as a congressional staff delegation, charged Saturday that Israel used a U.S.-built "vacuum bomb" to flatten an eight-storey building in West Beirut.

The Pentagon announced yesterday that it had no knowledge of the existence of a vacuum bomb.

Memorial assembly for

Hebron 1929 victims

HEBRON (Itim). — Interior Minister Yosef Burg represented the government yesterday at a memorial assembly for the 67 Jews killed in the Arab massacre here in 1929.

Hundreds of persons attended the meeting, and heard Burg declare that Jewish settlement in Hebron and Kiryat Arba should be strengthened.

(Burg's wife, Rivka, was a survivor of the massacre.)

MEXICO OIL. — Mexico was the largest supplier of U.S. oil imports in June, as it was in May, the *Oil User News* reports in its current issue. Mexico supplied 22.2 per cent of U.S. imports in June, compared with 17 per cent from Saudi Arabia.

Peres, in U.S., supports gov't policy

Jerusalem Post Correspondent
WASHINGTON. — Labour Party Chairman Shimon Peres defended Israel government policy in Lebanon when he appeared on NBC television's *Meet the Press* programme yesterday.

Peres noted that Israel had held off bombing Beirut for eight weeks to enable U.S. special envoy Philip

Habib to conduct negotiations. Peres said that Israel was paying a "high price" for giving Habib that chance.

Peres said that the PLO was not negotiating in good faith, and that if Israel were to withdraw to the line 40-kilometres north of its border with Lebanon, the latter country would again become a centre of world terrorism.

Ex-Lebanese premier: most PLO to Syria

Jerusalem Post Correspondent
WASHINGTON. — Former Lebanese Premier Saeb Salam in an ABC interview here yesterday that the main problem now in the Lebanese crisis is to determine clearly where the men of the PLO are to go. He said that it was now thought that most of them would go to Syria, and the rest to Jordan, Egypt and Iraq.

There is now a race on between the troops of Begin, Sharon and Shamir, and Philip Habib, Salam said. The Israeli leaders always intended to kill Habib's mission, Salam said.

According to Salam, Habib looked more confident yesterday than he had ever done.

Salam supported the PLO's demand that the proposed international force enter Beirut before the organization begins its evacuation. But now he said there is a compromise plan for a simultaneous operation. Habib has agreed to this, and Salam said he supposed that this was with Israeli consent.

He criticized American support of Israeli actions and said that the real problem was the Palestinian question, which should not be considered "PLO terrorism."

Salam alleged that Shaimir in 1948 murdered UN mediator Count Bernadotte with his own hands and Begin was directly involved in the assault on Dir Yassin and the blowing up of the King David Hotel, and said: "Now Shaimir and Begin talk about terrorism!"

He was appearing on the same programme with Shamir, who reported on his government's decision of yesterday to accept the Habib proposal for stationing the international force in Beirut after evacuation of most of the terrorists there.

English friends of Israel rap Beirut siege

By HYAM CORNEY

LONDON. — Two veteran friends of Israel, one of them Jewish, have come out with strongly critical statements on Israel's policy in Beirut.

Peter Shore, Labour's shadow chancellor of the exchequer, has sent a cable to Prime Minister Menachem Begin urging him to stop "this brutal bombardment of Beirut." Begin had "no right to pursue your quarry, the PLO, regardless of whom and what you destroy." What Israel was doing was "a disgrace to the cause and name of democratic Israel."

Jew, MP Neville Sandelson has resigned as vice-chairman of the Social Democratic Party Friends of Israel group because "true friends of Israel do no service by appearing tacitly to acquiesce in the assault on Beirut. Only a fascist mentality could condone the remorseless bombardment and the killing and maiming of so many innocent civilians."

PLO supporter for Israel-PLO recognition

A leading West Bank supporter of the PLO yesterday called for mutual recognition by that organization and Israel. Nabulsi municipal councillor Dr. Hatem Abu Ghazale told Kol Yisrael English News reporter Jerry

Cheslow that Israel, as the victor, should make the first step.

"It depends on Begin," said Abu Ghazale in the radio interview. "A real leader is one who knows how to reap the fruits of victory."

Galei Zahal most-listened-to radio station

Galei Zahal, the Israel Defence Forces radio station, is the most listened-to station during Operation Peace for Galilee, according to a listener survey by the Dabaf firm, the IDF station told *The Jerusalem Post*.

Fifty per cent of those queried said they listened mainly to Galei Zahal during the fighting; 26 per cent answered the Second Program-

me, 9 the Third Programme, 2 per cent the First Programme, and 1 per cent Abie Nathan's Voice of Peace.

The poll also found that Galei Zahal is the most listened-to radio station in peacetime; 33 per cent to Galei Zahal compared to 27 to the Second Programme.

The poll was taken among a representative sampling of 1,194 urban Jewish adults.

'Massive conversion' to solar energy seen

Jerusalem Post Reporter

A massive conversion by mankind to the use of solar energy is virtually inevitable, and the technological breakthrough to make this possible could come within the next decade, British Nobel laureate Sir George Porter

said in Jerusalem yesterday.

Porter made these remarks after delivering the opening lecture at an international conference on photochemistry and solar energy at the Hebrew University.

The conference is attended by over 150 researchers.

BEGIN OFFERS DEAL

(Continued from Page One)

Israeli officials described as "the package deal he is negotiating with the PLO."

The reply, officials said, contained "Israel's stand on various points," and was designed to make sure that Habib knew the Israeli parameters before committing himself to the PLO.

A senior official said there was no doubt that the heavy IDF pressure around West Beirut last week had influenced the PLO to declare its readiness to leave. However, he cautioned, the Arab states had not yet agreed to accept most of them.

The ministers had been told that Egypt does not want any terrorists at all; Syria had not yet offered to accept any; Jordan would take in only its own nationals; and the Soviet Union is trying to persuade Syria to deny entry totally to the PLO.

When one senior official was asked what the government would do, if it

were proven that the PLO genuinely agreed to leave lock, stock and barrel, but had no haven available, he replied: "We have not overlooked that contingency. We shall find answers. They can always lay down their arms and go into a prison camp run by the IDF or the Lebanese Army."

This reply seemed to ignore Israel's long-standing ultimatum that "all the PLO must get out of Lebanon entirely."

A senior Western diplomat told *The Jerusalem Post* last night that, even though the Arab countries had still not volunteered enough places for the PLO members, he is more confident than ever before that the negotiations would succeed.

A top Israeli official told *The Post*: "Personally, our position is not at all hard-line and I believe Secretary Shultz will understand us." He said: "Habib has been at it for 40 days and we hope he'll succeed. If we had no faith in Habib, we would not have waited so long."

With deep sorrow
we announce the passing of

ANNIE MAARSSIN

The funeral was held yesterday
August 8, 1982.

The Beth Joles Management

The Government Press Office
mourns the passing of

ANDRE SCEMAMA
and shares the grief of the family.

Opposition: Knesset unit paralysed

By JEFFREY HELLER
Jerusalem Post Reporter
TEL AVIV. — Yet another meeting of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee was cancelled yesterday, after Defence Minister Ariel Sharon informed committee members that he would be unable to attend. The committee has not been convened for the past 10 days.

Defence Ministry sources explained that Sharon could not keep his afternoon date with the committee members, because he had to travel to Beirut for a meeting with U.S. Special Envoy Philip Habib.

Committee Chairman Ellahu Ben-Elissar (Likud) said that the meeting between Sharon and Habib was of utmost importance and must be taken into account. Nevertheless, he was increasingly dissatisfied with the lack of reporting to the committee by the

defence establishment. "We should have had a meeting much earlier," he said.

The committee was to have met after the cabinet session Thursday, as the cabinet convened late at night, however, the committee session was first postponed until last Friday, but it became apparent that neither the defence minister nor the chief of staff was available for that morning. At that point, the session was re-scheduled for yesterday, only to be put off once more. It is due to meet this morning, not for its date with Sharon, but for a consultation with Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir.

The Alignment strongly protested against this latest postponement, and demanded an urgent Knesset plenary session "in view of the fact that the committee has been in a state of paralysis for ten days."

Alignment Knesset faction chief Moshe Shahal said yesterday that his party "very simply wants to know what the government is doing now that we are in effect in a state of an ongoing war while the committee is overlooked and ignored."

The committee should be in session every day from morning to night, continually receiving reports from the minister of defence, said Shahal.

He further complained that the plenum session that the Alignment requested had been postponed by the Knesset speaker till Thursday, while the Alignment had intended the debate to take place today. On Thursday the Knesset will be busy with tax legislation, and the war issues the Alignment wishes debated would have to share time with the complicated fiscal questions already on the agenda.

Roadside rest stations will close down—no money

TEL AVIV. — Six roadside rest stations, the purpose of which is to help prevent road accidents, will close this week for lack of money, Moshe Amiram, director of the safety administration in the Transport Ministry, announced here yesterday.

Amiram said he had requested IS45 million to continue the "Peace on the Roads" campaign of which the rest stations were a part, but the request was turned down by the Finance Ministry.

"Our purpose," Amiram said, "was to help drivers rest so they would be alert when they got back on the road. Some stations had beds and washing facilities, all had can-

dies for quick energy and information material."

Edith Koka, secretary of the Menashe regional council, said it cost about IS20,000 a day to run the stations — situated in Beersheba, Kiryat Gat, Kiryat Malachi, Netanya, the Menashe area and Acre. The Ministry of Transport gave each station a total of IS14,000 in a one-time grant. "We would have continued on a perhaps smaller scale if the Ministry had given us another little bit and had made us feel the stations were important," she said.

Amiram said he hopes money will be found at the last minute to continue the campaign.

Ministry section to foster ecumenism

Jerusalem Post Reporter
The Religious Affairs Ministry has set up a new department to coordinate its activities for non-Jews.

The ministry has separate departments for Christians, Moslems and Druse. The new department, which is to be headed by Dr. Nissim Dana,

until now the head of the Druse department, will try to encourage inter-religious dialogue and to encourage visits to Israel by religious leaders.

It will also try to work in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District, through the civil administration there.

Gov't committees named for science, refugees

The government yesterday announced the make-up of two new ministerial committees.

A committee for science and technology was established under the chairmanship of Minister of Science and Development Yuval Ne'eman and includes ministers Uzan, Avidor, Ehrlich, Berman, Hammer, Levy, Moda'i, Meridor,

Patt, Zipori, Corfu, Shostak, and Sharon.

The ministerial committee to formulate principles and ways for solving the Middle East refugee problem by resettlement will be headed by Minister without Portfolio Mordechai Ben-Porat and includes ministers Levy, Meridor, Ne'eman, and Nissim.

Shapira to head Bank of Israel advisers

Jerusalem Post Reporter
The cabinet yesterday approved the appointment of MK Avraham Shapira as chairman of the advisory committee of the Bank of Israel. He succeeds Prof. Haim Barka, who is going abroad on a sabbatical leave.

Shapira, owner of the Carmel carpet factory, is leader of the Agudat Yisrael Knesset faction and chairman of the coalition executive. He is now expected to resign the latter post in favour of the Likud's Ronnie Milo, as originally agreed.

Today's Knesset debate postponed till Thursday

Jerusalem Post Staff
Knesset Speaker Menachem Savidor has decided to postpone the plenary session scheduled for today and hold it on Thursday, to allow the Finance Committee to complete hearings on the government's tax bill ("Taxation Under Inflationary

Conditions").

On Thursday two sessions are to be held: a debate at 10 a.m. on an urgent Alignment motion for the agenda dealing with the war in Lebanon, followed by a discussion on pre-school education; and a 2 p.m. debate on the tax bill.

Four new settlements approved in Judea

Four new settlements were yesterday approved by the joint committee on settlement of the government and the World Zionist Organization, under the chairmanship of deputy Prime Minister Simcha Ehrlich. They are Betar, Nahalim and Daniel, in the Etzion Bloc area south of Jerusalem, and

Tekoa-Gimmel, near Herodion southeast of Bethlehem.

The committee also co-opted Science and Development Minister Yuval Ne'eman as vice-chairman and approved the Golan development project known as "Two Myriads More to the Golan."

TOTO. — Because no one picked the correct outcome of 13 or 12 games in this week's Toto, a prize of IS24,840 was awarded to each of eight persons who picked 11 winners.

UNIVERSITIES. — The country's universities have delayed the opening of the coming academic year, in consideration of the extended call-up of reservists. Each institution will announce when its classes will begin.

IDF chaplaincy buries enemy dead in Lebanon

NABATIYA (Itim). — Special detachments of the Israel Defence Forces chaplaincy have been busy in recent weeks with the burial of enemy dead in Lebanon.

Where possible, the remains of Syrian soldiers and PLO men are identified and full details of the burial recorded.

In the event of an agreement, Syrian soldiers will be able to be reburied in Syria, and the families of PLO dead will be able to visit the graves of their relatives.

Maronite gravestones desecrated in Bir'im

Jerusalem Post Reporter
SAFAD. — Police here have opened an investigation into the desecration of the Maronite cemetery in Bir'im. Officials of the Likud-Bir'im Committee complained to police yesterday that, when they arrived to visit family graves, they found that vandals had overturned the headstones.

The Maronite residents of Bir'im and the Greek Orthodox residents of neighbouring Ikrit were evicted by the Israel Defence Forces during the 1948 War of Independence. Last December the High Court of Justice rejected a petition by Ikrit villagers asking permission to return to the abandoned border village, saying that the security situation with Lebanon did not allow it.

Telegram from Arafat to 'Peace Now' alleged

By IGAL BICHOV
Jerusalem Post Reporter
HERZLIYA. — An activist in the Citizens for Strengthening Israel movement has circulated the facsimile of a telegram that he asserted was sent by Yasser Arafat to the Peace Now movement in Israel calling on them to "step up their efforts to break the spirit of the Israeli people and their army."

The activist, Menahem Raz, said that he was given the telegram by someone he refused to identify. He said that the copy he distributed is an accurate translation of a telegram that was actually sent by Arafat. The Citizens for Strengthening Israel movement questioned the document's authenticity.

American Jewish singles come for deliberations

Jerusalem Post Reporter
Some 250 unmarried American Jews arrived in Jerusalem yesterday for a two-week Singles Convention of the American Jewish Congress.

The gathering, the fifth annual one, will include meetings with Israeli officials, panel discussions with single Israelis of the same age and interests and tours around the country. They will also tour southern Lebanon. Delegates range in age from 21 to 39, and include students, lawyers, computer programmers, physical therapists, social workers, teachers, secretaries and accountants.



American film star Kirk Douglas visits a wounded soldier at Hadassah Hospital in Jerusalem yesterday.

Kirk Douglas here to make new film

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter
TEL AVIV. — American actor Kirk Douglas arrived here yesterday to star in *Remembrance of Love*, a film about Holocaust survivors who meet in Israel.

Dapper in a white mustache grown especially for this role, Douglas told reporters at a press conference at the Hilton Hotel that this was to be the fourth movie he would be shooting in Israel.

The movie, which will be filmed in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Caesarea and elsewhere over the next few

weeks, will also feature Pam Dauber as Douglas' daughter and Israeli actress Hava Eden.

Douglas starred in Michael Blankfort's *The Juggler*, made here about 30 years ago.

Douglas, who is Jewish, reported that he had visited wounded Israeli, Lebanese and Syrian soldiers at Tel Hashomer Hospital and was pleased to see they were all receiving the same treatment. He said he had no plans to visit Lebanon, but he hoped the Israelis could negotiate peacefully with the Palestinians towards a solution in Lebanon and an end to terrorism.

Bonds 'founders' arrive on emergency mission

Jerusalem Post Staff
Thirty-four Israel Bond leaders arrived yesterday for a four-day mission as guests of the government to confer with Prime Minister Menachem Begin and other government leaders and to study the impact of the war in Lebanon on Israel's economy.

Heading the "Founders Emergency Delegation" are David Hermelin of Detroit and Rabbi Dr. Leon Kronish of Miami, co-

chairmen of the Bonds campaign, and Yitzhak Rager, Bonds president.

The group comprises leaders from 18 major Jewish communities in the U.S., Canada and Europe. All participants have committed themselves to buy a minimum of \$100,000 in Israel Bonds to help start building the Mediterranean-Dead Sea canal project, for which they are known as "Canal Founders."

Folklore troupes to give extra performances

By DAVID RUDGE
Jerusalem Post Reporter
HAIFA. — The fifth International Folklore Festival, which ended here Saturday night, has proven so popular that three of the troupes — from Italy, France and Portugal —

have agreed to stay in Israel to give an additional performance tomorrow night at the Haifa Auditorium.

Two groups from Scotland are also expected to give special performances at the kibbutzim where they are staying: the pipe band at Nahal Oz and the dance troupe at Ein Hamifratz.

Kiryat Ata workers end three-week strike

KIRYAT ATA. — This town's municipal employees, who have been on strike for three weeks after failing to receive their June wages, are due to return to work today.

Mayor Nathan Shpritzer said the June salaries were received from the Interior Ministry on Friday and the July wages are expected today.

New old Jaffa to mark 20th birthday

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter
TEL AVIV. — A series of celebrations beginning on August 14 will mark the 20th anniversary of the restoration of ancient Jaffa, it was announced here yesterday.

At present, none of the 10 restaurants operating in ancient Jaffa is kosher, the director general of the Company for Developing Ancient Jaffa, Nisan Sh'altiel, said. He added that the company is building one at its own expense, to be leased on condition that it be kept kosher.

Singer Avi Toledano will host the opening performance of the celebrations, at which Tourism Minister Avraham Shbarir and Tel Aviv Mayor Shlomo Lahat will be present.

Moshe Bartov named head of state revenues

The cabinet yesterday approved the appointment of Moshe Bartov as director of the State Revenue Administration. Bartov was most recently director of the Airports Authority. Bartov, 43 and a native of Israel, is a reserve *tal-alf* (brigadier-general), having risen to the post of air force chief of operations.

IMMUNITY. — A chair in cancer research endowed by Harriet B. and the late Harold S. Brady of Chicago was established at the Weizmann Institute of Science in Rehovot. The chair is "held by Prof. Amiel Gliberson, who will do research on the effects of age on the body's immune system."

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4 Eilat policeman to court for brutalizing Arab workers

By JEFFREY HELLER
Jerusalem Post Reporter
TEL AVIV. — Four Eilat policemen will be brought before a disciplinary court on charges of brutality against Arab construction workers, a police source said yesterday.

The source said two police officers were sent to Eilat recently to investigate allegations of such brutality and recommended that the four be tried. He said he did not know when the trial would take place.

The incident in question related to a police raid on the Arabs' shanty town after the rape of a woman tourist recently. In a re-enactment of the raid which appeared in a

television report Friday, Arab workers alleged that police, looking for a suspect in the case, forced them to commit sodomy on each other in one of the dwellings.

In a radio interview, Binyamin Gur-Arye, the Prime Minister's adviser on Arab affairs, said he believed the present "explosive situation" in the Red Sea resort town stemmed from the lack of acceptable housing and recreational facilities for the Arab workers.

Gur-Arye, saying he was "shocked" by the TV report, asserted that the expressions of prejudice against the Arabs in Eilat did not represent the feelings of the public at large.

IDF confirms that Phalange soldiers killed three Druse

By MENAHEM HOROWITZ
Jerusalem Post Reporter
METULLA. — A Druse woman and two of her sons were killed in a violent clash between the soldiers of Bashir Jemayel's Phalange militia and Druse civilians, it was reported yesterday by Israeli Druse who visited Lebanon. They said that the incident took place near the town of Bhamdoun in the Shouf Mountains last Thursday.

Israel Defence Forces sources confirm the report.

There have also been serious incidents in the coastal city of Sidon between local residents and the Phalange. On Saturday, in what was reportedly the settling of old scores, groups of outside Phalange militiamen kidnapped several persons from their homes.

In Miaomia near Sidon, Phalangists seized several houses of Palestinian refugees, Men of Major Sa'ad Haddad's Christian militia

and the IDF succeeded in separating the two sides, but tension remains high.

The Israeli Druse who recently visited Lebanon say that the situation of their coreligionists there is deteriorating. Phalange soldiers, they say, continue to put up roadblocks in Druse areas, to conduct searches and to threaten people. During the last week, according to these sources, Phalangists have kidnapped several Druse.

These reports are causing much agitation among Israeli Druse. Yesterday, a group of Israeli Druse notables and academics met in Ussifiya in Galilee to discuss the situation. They called on the Israeli government to protect the Lebanese Druse from a Phalangist massacre and demanded that the government state unequivocally that it does not support the Phalange actions.

Newcomers organize lifts for soldiers

Jerusalem Post Reporter
TEL AVIV. — Six minibuses and five private cars will travel from Tel Aviv to Metulla and back today providing rides to soldiers going to and from the front.

The project, called "from olim to soldiers with love," was organized by the Ministry of Immigrant Absorp-

tion at the request of new olim. In addition to taking the day off from work today, they have rented the minibuses at their own expense, and are providing cakes and other refreshments for the soldier/passengers.

Another group of olim did the same thing one Friday last month.

Tel Aviv Cinematheque damaged second time

TEL AVIV. — Deliberate damage has been done to equipment in the Cinematheque here, for the second time in a week, police say. Cinematheque manager Alon

Garbus discovered when he came to work yesterday morning that someone had cut the screen in two over the weekend, causing IS60,000 damage.

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Entries to the "Night on the Town" lottery for Israel Festival tickets must be received by The Jerusalem Post on or before August 17. Winners will be selected at random by a computer on August 19, in the presence of representatives of the Israel Festival, The Jerusalem Post and its legal representatives. Staff members of The Jerusalem Post and the

Israel Festival or their immediate families are not eligible to participate in the lottery. Names and addresses of the fifty lottery winners will be published in The Jerusalem Post on August 20, 1982. Winners will also be notified by mail or telephone; they will then be free to make reservations for the performance of their choice, depending on available space. Please complete the coupon below, and send it to us with your cheque. Lottery entries will be accepted on this coupon only. Payment may also be submitted at The Jerusalem Post offices in Tel Aviv (11 Carlebach St.) or Haifa (16 Nordau St.).

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Israel Lands Administration Tel Aviv and Central District Offer for Lease of Build Your Home Plot in Hod Hasharon Tender No. TA/82/45

The Israel Lands Administration invites bids for the lease of a plot for the construction of two residential units containing a joint wall.

Block	Parcel	Plot no.	Approx. area (sq.m.)	Total Building %	Storeys	Minimum required price (IS)	Deposit (IS)
6410	88	31A	481	25	1	910,314	45,000

Details, sample contracts and bid forms are available at our Tel Aviv district office, 88 Derech Petah Tikva, first floor, between 8.30 a.m. and 12 noon on regular working days. Deadline for submitting tenders bids is 12 noon on September 9, 1982. Bids not found in the tenders mailbox by the above time for any reason whatsoever, will not be considered. The Israel Lands Administration does not undertake to accept the highest bid or any bid whatsoever.

Tel Aviv and Central District

Bid for Lease of 2 Plots for owner occupier construction in Ramat Hasharon Tender No. TA/82/46

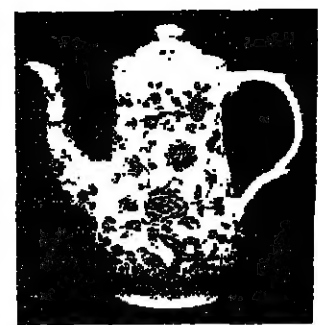
The Israel Lands Administration invites bids for the lease of plots for the construction of a building for residential purposes only. Details of the plots and building potential at the time of publication of this notice, were as follows:

Block	Parcel	Plot no.	Approx. area (sq.m.)	Total building % (incl. balconies)	Storeys	Minimum required price (IS)	Deposit (IS)
6560	103	103A	545	36	2	1,039,860	50,000
6560	103	103B	545	36	2	1,039,960	50,000

In addition to the above building percentages, builders will be allowed an addition of 10sq.m. on a height of 2m. as auxiliary structure for each unit. Details, sample contracts and bid forms are available at our Tel Aviv district office, 88 Derech Petah Tikva, first floor, between 8.30 a.m. and 12 noon on regular working days. Deadline for submitting tenders bids is 12 noon on September 9, 1982. Bids not found in the tenders mailbox by the above time for any reason whatsoever, will not be considered. The Israel Lands Administration does not undertake to accept the highest bid or any bid whatsoever.

THE INSIDE TRACK

A perceptive guide to shopping and services in Jerusalem



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Ankara terrorists came from Syria

ANKARA (UPI). — The two Armenian terrorists who stormed Ankara's international airport, killing eight persons and wounding over 70, entered Turkey from Syria, police said yesterday.

The manager of the airport died yesterday of gunshot wounds he incurred when the terrorists raided the airport Saturday, detonating a bomb in the departure lounge and spraying passengers with machine-gun bullets.

The raid was described in an Armenian statement as an attempt to pressure European governments to give up fellow gunmen in captivity.

Erdogan Batissner was the eighth victim of the two-hour gun battle, the first Armenian attack inside Turkey. But doctors at an Ankara hospital said two Turks wounded in the bomb and gun raid were in comas and might die.

Out of the 74 wounded Saturday, 45 were still hospitalized, the doctors said.

Airport authorities across the country clamped down tough security precautions, demanding a valid ticket and flight reservation from anyone wishing to enter an airport building.

Military authorities updated the number of deaths to six with the airport manager's death. The discrepancy between the official figure and doctors' account of eight deaths was not explained by either side. But it appeared to have been caused by official reluctance to acknowledge police losses.

Police said they had established that the two Armenians entered the country last month aboard separate commercial flights from Damascus. They met in Istanbul, where they planned the attack, a police spokesman said.

During the shootout, security forces shot and killed one of the gunmen, who had travelled to Turkey on a forged Turkish passport and wounded the other, a French national identified as Levon Ekmekeciyan, 25. He was still in critical condition as of last night.

A 50-year-old American woman, a West German couple and a number of policemen also died in the shooting.

The shooting broke out as passengers were going through customs to board a Lufthansa flight.

In Paris yesterday, terrorists claiming to be Armenian nationalists dug a telephone exchange with dynamite and fire bombs and then tipped off police before any explosion in an apparent warning to authorities to release jailed Armenian militants.

Second S. African detainee found hanged

JOHANNESBURG (UPI). — Police yesterday found detainee Ernest Depale, 21, dead in his cell at a local police station hours after giving a statement to a magistrate, the head of the security police said.

Lt-Gen. Johann Coetzee said Depale was found hanged by a strip of blanket.

Depale, arrested under the Internal Security Act last Thursday, was said to have made a confession to a magistrate on Saturday, and was to appear in court today, Coetzee said.

Coetzee, who is also acting commissioner of police, said he had ordered a "comprehensive investigation into the circumstances"

of Depale's death.

A detainees' parents support committee spokesman said his group's first action would be to try to ensure that Depale's parents or their nominees could be present at an autopsy, "assuming, of course, that an autopsy has not already been done."

"Yet another death in detention... serves to expose the barbarism of the detention laws and the inadequacies of the safeguards. Such deaths will continue for so long as our security laws are enforced, or at least until detainees are given free access to legal and medical assistance of their own choice and

contact with their families," the spokesman added.

Depale was the second known death of a detainee at the John Vorster Square police station this year.

Trade unionist Dr. Neil Aggett, 28, was found hanging in his cell on February 5. Police say he committed suicide, but pathologists testified at an inquest, now adjourned, that it is impossible to determine whether he hanged himself or was hanged while unconscious.

Aggett was the first White among more than 40 persons known to have died in detention during the past 20 years.

Galtieri said to have wanted early end to Falklands war

LONDON (AP). — Argentine President General Leopoldo Galtieri wanted to end the Falklands conflict six weeks before Britain forced a surrender, but he was blocked by a hardline member of his ruling military junta, the Sunday Times of London reported yesterday.

The newspaper said Galtieri decided to withdraw his troops and start immediate negotiations on April 29, the day before the U.S. announced it was going to back Britain and impose sanctions against Argentina.

If he had succeeded in gaining agreement from other members of the three-man junta, the sinking of the Argentine cruiser Belgrano and

the British destroyer Sheffield and other large losses of life in the 74-day undeclared Falklands war would have been avoided.

But Galtieri was overruled by Admiral Jorge Isaac Anaya, the navy's hawkish representative on the junta, who feared a withdrawal would bring massive protest from the Argentine people, the Sunday Times said.

Without Anaya's support, the army general could not force through his order, the newspaper said.

Galtieri resigned as president shortly after Britain recaptured the Falkland Islands on June 14.

The newspaper gave no indication of the position taken by the other member of the junta, General Basilio Lami Dozo of the air force.

Second bombing of Paris Jews in 2 days

PARIS (UPI). — A bomb virtually destroyed a tool shop owned by Jews in eastern Paris yesterday and the extreme left group, Action Directe, took responsibility for the attack. The group said the shop "is accused of trade with Israel."

In communications to news media the terrorist group also took responsibility for the bombing Saturday of the Discount Bank until recently owned by the Rothschild family.

No one was wounded by the 4 a.m. explosion at the Nemor shop, whose owners were on vacation.

The terrorists' communiqué said yesterday's bombing and that of the former Rothschild bank were "in retaliation" for Israel's invasion of Lebanon.

In Spain yesterday, two small bombs exploded near American businesses in Madrid and Barcelona and police thought that the blasts may have been the work of Palestinian groups angered by American support for Israel in the Beirut conflict.

A third bomb — placed in a small, remote-controlled boat — went off early yesterday near a Spanish naval patrol boat docked in the Basque region of northern Spain, but was not believed connected to the other explosions, police said.

No injuries were reported from any of the attacks, and damages were minor, investigators said.

Man held for 'non-subversive' murder

LONDON (UPI). — The man detained by police investigating last month's double bombings by the Irish Republican Army is to appear in a Northern Ireland court in connection with a murder there last year, Scotland Yard said yesterday.

They said the man was handed over to the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) on Saturday and has been eliminated from inquiries into the London bombings.

The man, 27, from Lurgan, 48 kilometres south of Belfast, was one of three persons detained by police Thursday and questioned about the July bombings, which killed 11 soldiers and injured more than 50 persons. The other two — a man

and a woman — were later released and eliminated from inquiries.

An RUC spokesman said the man would appear before Lurgan magistrates today to be charged in connection with the "non-subversive" murder of a man beaten up April 12, 1981 by a group of drunks.

Police investigating the London bombings said they were still sifting through the wealth of information provided by the public but were far from making any arrests.

Early in their inquiries, Scotland Yard said they believed the bombers were still in the London area; but a spokesman said yesterday: "We have no idea where they are."

Etna belching and roaring; quake in Greece

CATANIA, Sicily (UPI). — The Mt. Etna volcano roared and belched black smoke yesterday and scientists said molten lava was building up in its central crater.

Scientists at the Catania Institute of Volcanology said the smoke and roaring explosions from the crater were accompanied by a series of earth tremors shaking the region around the volcano.

Scientists said it was too early to tell if the volcano's latest activity

meant another eruption was imminent. But police took the precaution of barring tourists and mountain climbers from approaching Etna's main crater.

In Greece, an earthquake shook the centre of the country yesterday but caused no damage or casualties, the Athens Seismological Institute said. An institute spokesman said the tremor registered 4.5 on the open-ended scale.

New Colombian president inaugurated

BOGOTA, Colombia (UPI). — Belisario Betancur, a 5-time loser who was swept to the presidency by a record turnout May 30, took the oath of office Saturday in a ceremony witnessed by delegations from 50 countries.

The inauguration was conducted amid tight security, coming at a time when subversive groups have stepped up their activities.

Four policemen and a cook died in a bombing attributed to a subversive group in a town 320 kilometres southwest of Bogota on Thursday and another bomb killed a bus driver in Popayan, 370 kilometres

south of Bogota Friday night.

At the same time, The M-19 guerrilla group that took 23 diplomats hostage in the Dominican Republic embassy two years ago issued a statement saying it would step up its activities.

To emphasize the difficult times Colombia faces in the next four years, Betancur, the country's 77th president, cancelled the traditional champagne toast and inaugural ball.

Betancur, 59, describes himself as a right-center politician. He studied economics and sociology in the U.S. and France and has been a newspaper editor.

Sports

Admission over cricket Test bet generates rumpus

MELBOURNE (AP). — A sensational admission by Australian Test bowler Dennis Lillee that he and wicketkeeper Rod Marsh won \$7,500 after backing England to win the third test at Leeds last year has begun to rock the cricket and sports world generally. Australian cricket officials have already said, however, that they will probably not take action over the admission.

David Richards, director of the Australian Cricket Board said he had no doubt that, although Lillee and Marsh had a bet, it had no bearing on their attitude to win the Test. "It is the fundamental goal for any Australian representing his country to play at his best. The bet was just one of those things," he said.

Lillee's admission comes in his book "My Life in Cricket," which was released over the weekend. He said he won about \$5,000 and Marsh \$2,500 at odds of 500-1.

The pair had originally denied the story after England matched victory in the Test from an almost impossible position. England's Ian Botham made 149 not out and fast bowler Bob Willis captured eight wickets to completely swing the tide of the match when Australia had appeared certain to win and take a two-nil lead in the series.

Several former Australian players and officials have strongly criticized Lillee and Marsh over their actions, which is bound to have further repercussions.

Viva Italia once again

EAST RUTHERFORD, New Jersey (UPI). — Giancarlo Antognoni in keeping with Italy's time of triumph scored in the 88th minute to give Europe a 3-2 victory over the Rest-of-the-World in the FIFA All-Star soccer game here on Saturday night.

Antognoni, a member of Italy's victorious World Cup squad, slammed in a high shot from 20 metres which the Rest's goalkeeper Thomas N'Kono of Cameroon could only parry and the ball fell over the line. The goal capped a dramatic come-back after Europe had trailed 2-0.

The Rest had taken a half time lead through goals by Zico of Brazil and Lakhdar Belloumi of Algeria. But the Europeans struck back in the second half through Kevin Keegan, Bruno Pezzey of Austria, and the game-winner by Antognoni, the elegant midfielder whose shot elicited a chant of "Italia, Italia" from the sellout crowd of 76,891 — the second-largest soccer attendance in U.S. history.

The game, a benefit for UNICEF, was televised to 60 countries on six continents and earned \$300,000 for the United Nations Children's Fund.

Clerc crashes

INDIANAPOLIS, Indiana (AP). — Spain's Jose Higueras, returning to form after a two-year bout with hepatitis, caused a major upset when he defeated two-time defending champion Jose-Luis Clerc with surprising ease, 6-3, 6-3, in the semifinals of the U.S. Open clay court tennis tournament here.

Romania's Virginia Ruzici won the women's championship, rolling past 17-year-old Czech Helena Sukova 6-2, 6-0.

In the all-American semifinals of the tournament in Columbus, Ohio Brian Gottfried defeated Bruce Manson 6-1, 6-0 and Jimmy Connors upended Chip Hooper 6-4, 6-4.

Records climax world swim meet

GUAYAQUIL, Ecuador (Reuter). — The fourth world swimming championships climaxed in spectacular fashion here on Saturday night as world records tumbled in the final two events.

Cornelia Sirch of East Germany with a time of 2:39.1 shattered the women's 200 metres backstroke mark by almost two seconds and the U.S. men's relay team claimed its second record in three days, with a storming swim of 3:40.34 in the 4 x 100 metres medley.

The U.S. topped the final medals tally but generally had a disappointing championships. The biggest shock on the final day was the defeat of world record-holder Mary Meagher in the 200 metres butterfly by East Germany's Ines Geissler.

Top Medal Winners

	G	S	B	Total
U.S.	12	11	10	34
E. Germany	12	9	5	26
Russia	5	9	4	18
Canada	3	3	1	7
W. Germany	2	2	3	7
Holland	1	1	2	4
Brazil	1	0	0	1

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Tough Talk

When Pressuring Israel Fails, Choices Are Few

By TERENCE SMITH

WASHINGTON White House official sat in his office the other day, talking quietly but intently about the relationship between his boss, Ronald Reagan, and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin.

The President has let his impatience with Begin show in private several times in the past year, the official said. "But this week, his patience ran out."

The straw that broke the President's public reserve came late Tuesday night. Just 36 hours after Mr. Reagan had appealed personally for restraint in a White House meeting with Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir and just as American envoy Philip C. Habib seemed to be getting somewhere in Beirut, Israeli tanks rolled across the Green Line in the Lebanese capital. The Israeli advance on the Palestinian enclave was accompanied by the most withering and deadly artillery barrage of the two-month-old war.

The next morning, the President, with Secretary of State George P. Shultz at his side, signed a forceful letter to Mr. Begin warning that further "unnecessary bloodshed" in Beirut could "jeopardize the relationship between our two countries."

In diplomacy between friendly nations, that is tough talk.

Limits on Leverage

The reply marked a watershed in Ronald Reagan's dealings with the Begin Government. The President had generally avoided public criticism, preferring instead to try to coax flexibility from the Israelis with repeated assurances of support. By last week, it was clear that the conciliatory approach had not worked. On the contrary, American influence over Israel had never seemed so impotent. Alan Romburg, a State Department spokesman, admitted as much when he observed: "While we can influence events (in Beirut), we cannot ultimately control them."

Mr. Romburg was saying in public what many have acknowledged in private — that for all the political, economic and military support the United States has provided over the last 34 years, America's effective leverage over Israeli actions is negligible. It is one of the enduring paradoxes of the Middle East — one, incidentally, that Arab leaders have always refused to believe, but one that has been demonstrated again and again by Menachem Begin.

In the last 14 months, Mr. Begin has defied American wishes by destroying Iraq's nuclear reactor, by bombing the Palestinian quarter of Beirut, by annexing the Golan Heights, by establishing new settlements in the West Bank, by dismissing elected Arab mayors there and in Gaza, and by pursuing the Palestine Liberation Organization to the gates of Beirut.

Mr. Reagan's responses have been largely symbolic — a three-week suspension of aircraft deliveries last summer and indefinite suspension of the shipment of cluster bombs last month.

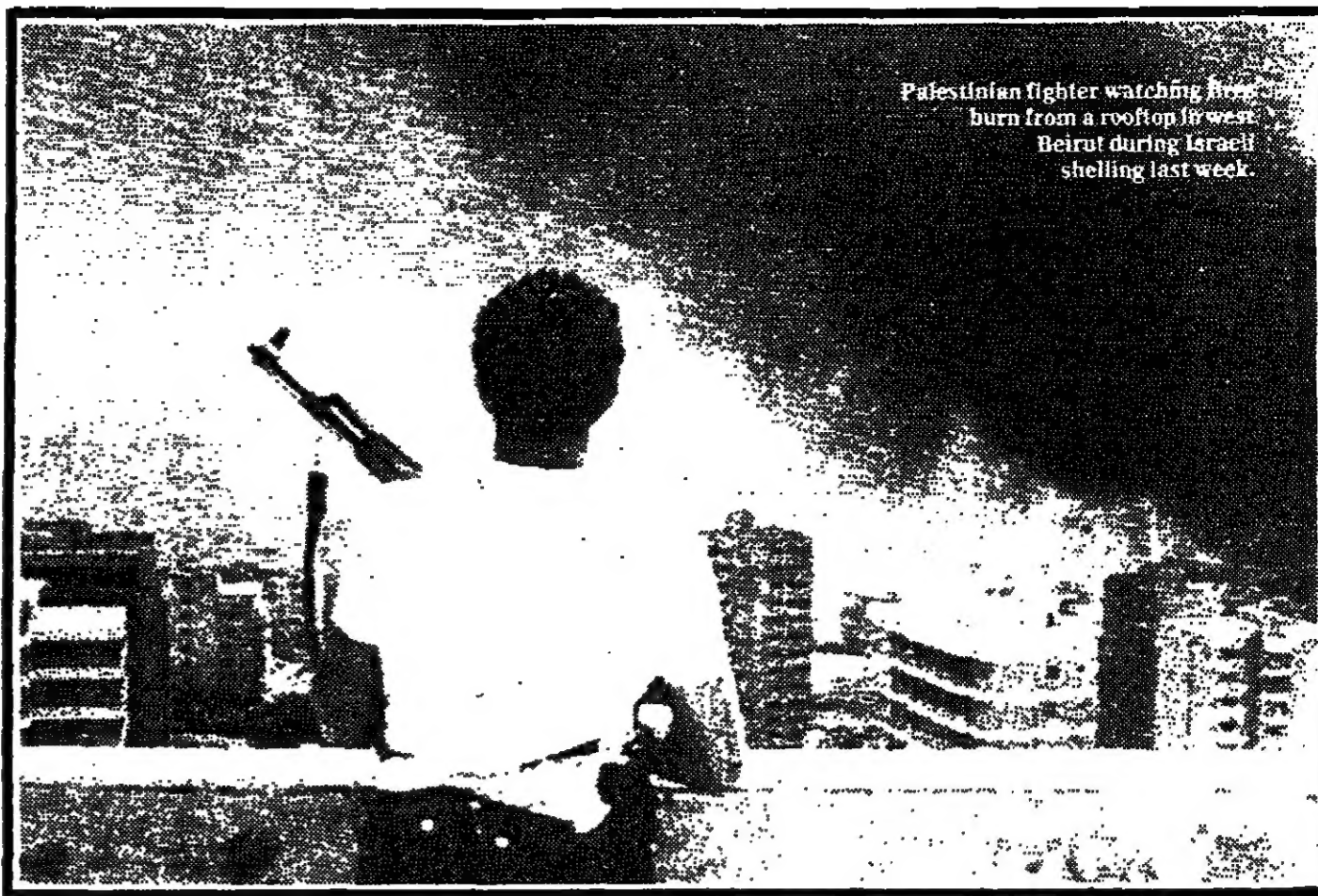
Why, then, is American leverage so limited? Political constraints on a President are obvious enough, especially in an election year. But Harold Saunders, a former Assistant Secretary of State, sees another explanation: "We have never established what the limits of American support for Israel will be. We have

never said: 'This far, and no further.'" Mr. Saunders said the President should be "making it crystal clear to Israel that the price of an invasion of west Beirut is a breach with the United States." But a ranking Administration official said the Israelis had been told repeatedly that if they moved into west Beirut, inflicting large-scale casualties, "all bets were off on Israel-U.S. relations." Other officials said they have begun a fundamental review of relations with Israel that could result in reductions of military and economic aid.

More often than not, American threats to cut off arms, seem to have stiffened Israeli resolve. "Nobody is going to bring Israel to her knees," Mr. Begin said last week. But William Quandt of the Brookings Institution, a former National Security Council specialist, contends that pressure has sometimes produced results. In 1973, a stiff warning persuaded Israel to spare the encircled Egyptian Third Army; in 1975, "reassessment" of American policy toward Israel paved the way for the Sinai disengagement agreement; in 1978, an icy note from President Carter induced the Israelis to withdraw American-made weapons from southern Lebanon. "American pressure has worked on occasion," Mr. Quandt said. "But to be credible, it has to be consistent."

But the Israeli invasion of Lebanon has presented the Reagan Administration with another, special difficulty. Washington frankly shares Israel's view that the Palestinian Liberation Organization is a destabilizing element in Lebanon and should be compelled to leave. The United States would like to see the P.L.O. depart with at least a semblance of honor, but Israel wants it to be a humiliating experience. The two countries differ over tactics, not ultimate objective, hence the initial American ambivalence. But with each passing week of bloodshed and stalemate, the American stake has increased. "Like it or not, the credibility of our diplomacy in the Arab world and elsewhere depends on the outcome," Mr. Quandt observed. "Once we took on the task of mediating, success became as important to the United States as to the parties themselves."

Success is also vital for the Administration. With Mr. Reagan's personal involvement last week, the political stakes for the President rose sharply. For George Shultz, Lebanon was the first full-blown crisis on his watch. Its outcome — and aftermath — may set the tone for his tenure as Secretary of State.



Palestinian fighter watching from a rooftop in west Beirut during Israeli shelling last week.

Beirut and After: Begin's Dark Vision

By HENRY KAMM

JERUSALEM

THE Israeli onslaught last week against Palestinian-controlled west Beirut — in the face of almost unanimous international opposition and in defiance of President Reagan — is a measure of the Begin Government's aggravated sense of isolation from a world it perceives as unalterably hostile.

Senior officials of Prime Minister Menachem Begin's entourage make clear the prevailing attitude toward criticism: Whatever Israel does it will be blamed, the reasoning goes, and when the chips are down Israel is likely to have to fight for survival on its own.

The Government obviously puts the United States in a category apart from the rest of the West, which it considers craven under the pressures of Arab petroleum power and latent anti-Semitism. But Israel knows that America's global interests put limits on its support, as Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir clearly understood from his chilly meeting with Mr. Reagan last week. Thus, while obliged by American pressure to support the mediation mission of Mr. Reagan's special envoy, Philip C. Habib, the Begin Government believes that Mr. Habib represents America's, not Israel's, interests. Defense Minister Ariel Sharon went

further, accusing Mr. Habib last week of sending incorrect information to Washington on the intensity of Israeli fire and the extent of Israeli advances, Israeli radio said.

The American interest, Jerusalem believes, is directed at making the Palestine Liberation Organization leave Beirut — but not at the cost of America's losing Arab sympathies. The Israeli Government thus sees unwitting de facto American support of the Palestinians, who have hung on, while Mr. Habib tells Mr. Begin that, given time and Israeli abstention from military pressure, he will succeed in negotiating an evacuation. But Israel believes that Mr. Habib's only hope of succeeding, whether America likes it or not, is with the application of military force.

As the Pot Boils

Looking ahead, the Begin Government foresees an even greater possible strain on its relations with Washington. That strain would come if the diplomatic processes flowing from the Lebanese drama led to American pressure for political contacts with the P.L.O. Steeped in the recent past, Israel thinks in apocalyptic visions; it perceives the P.L.O. as the hangman and, as such, beyond the pale. In a letter to Mr. Reagan last week, Mr. Begin compared Yasir Arafat holed up in Beirut to Adolf Hitler in his final days in his Berlin bunker. Mr. Begin's Government, as well as the mainstream of the opposition Labor Party, sees no possibility of talking about the future of Israel with Mr. Arafat or any other prominent P.L.O. leader. A sure way of making any Israeli sinner is to note that many non-Israelis consider Mr. Arafat a moderate.

Adding to its sense of isolation, the Begin Government tends to see the Christian West as, at best, sympathetic bystanders to the tragic history of the Jews, which Israelis trace through centuries of pogroms and ghettos to the World War II Holocaust. Earlier Israeli governments, rightly or wrongly, occasionally blamed persistent anti-Semitism for international criticism; they did not allow this to become the explanation for all views not entirely consistent with Israel's. Among Mr. Begin's men, however, anti-Semitism is assumed to be the central theme that unites almost all criticism.

Matityahu Shmuelovitz, the director general of the Prime Minister's office, offered this wry illustration:

Three men, one an Israeli, are captured by cannibals, and while the cauldron of water is heating, they are each to be granted a final wish. After the others' conventional wishes have been met, the Israeli makes his request — that the cannibal chieftain kick him in the behind. The wish fulfilled, the Israeli pulls his Uzi submachine gun from under his shirt, kills his tormentors and sets his companions free.

"But why did you ask him to kick you?" they ask. "Because otherwise, no matter how justified my shooting him, I will still be accused of aggression," comes the reply.

"So we take into account that we shall be accused of aggression, even when the water to cook us is already boiling," said Mr. Shmuelovitz as he launched into his analysis of negative world reaction to the Israeli invasion.

Another longtime Begin stalwart, Eliahu Ben-Elissar, Israel's first Ambassador to Egypt and now chairman of the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee of Parliament, explained international hostility in other terms. "The free, Christian world has still a long way to go to get used to a new type of Jew," he said. "We are a very normal people. No nation would allow its citizens to be killed with impunity. But somehow, people take it for granted that Jews have always been killed throughout their history, while Americans or French or others would never let it happen. We have always been asked to behave otherwise. But we are not the Jews of the Diaspora. We will show to the nations that we are not that kind of Jew."

Israel considers foreign television and press coverage of its actions in Lebanon has been generally unfriendly, confirming the Government in its sense of a hostile world applying moral standards never applied to countries fighting "a just war." Most Israelis have no doubt that the actions of the P.L.O. not only against Israelis but against others less involved in causing harm to Palestinians, have justified full-scale war many times over. A retired military officer who is considered a dove on Palestinian questions cites a historical comparison to indicate unfairness. "People who never complained when their countries bombed not only German cities in the World War but also cities on their side that were under German occupation and thus killed friends," he said, "now complain that we have to bomb and shell the Lebanese cities where the P.L.O. has taken cover."

Washington's commitment

U.S. military and economic aid to Israel (fiscal years, in millions of dollars)

	ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE			MILITARY AID		
	Loans	Grants	Total	Loans	Grants	Total
1977	\$250.0	\$490.0	\$740.0	\$500	\$500	\$1,000
1978	296.5	525.0	791.5	500	500	1,000
1979	245.1	525.0	790.1	2,700	1,300	4,000*
1980	251.0	525.0	786.0	500	500	1,000
1981	0	754.0	754.0	900	500	1,400
1982	0	806.0	806.0	850	550	1,400

*Increased aid connected to Camp David agreements included \$800 million for two new air bases to replace those in Sinai.

Source: State Department

Major News

In Summary

Optimism Rises In Beirut After Week of Despair

Harsh pressure, psychological and real, last week seemed to be speeding up Palestinian departure from Lebanon. Yesterday, Lebanese go-betweens expressed "cautious optimism" and said everything was falling in place for an evacuation that could begin within days.

The week began with Israeli armor and artillery pounding west Beirut in a clear warning to the Palestine Liberation Organization of what lies around the corner if the guerrillas do not get out soon. In the process, more than 500 people, including many civilians, were added to the death toll as bombs, rockets, phosphorous fire shells and shrapnel hit housing, offices, hotels, hospitals and government buildings. Israel said the attacks were responses to Palestinian truce violations; it said 22 Israeli soldiers died last week, 318 since the invasion began June 6.

Rejecting demands from President Reagan and the United Nations to ease up and let the negotiations continue without lethal interruptions, Israel sent tanks edging across the

Green Line and planes to dive-bomb Palestinian strongholds in the densely populated inner city.

Despite or because of the pressure, the P.L.O. offered new concessions. Lebanese intermediaries said the Palestinians agreed to depart on a two-week timetable while multinational troops move in to cover the withdrawal and protect civilians left behind. The force would include American, French and Italian units; the Cabinet in Rome gave its approval yesterday, just before the resignation of Prime Minister Giovanni Spadolini's Government.

The Lebanese negotiators said the P.L.O. had agreed to all major points proposed by Presidential envoy Philip C. Habib. Yesterday they said Syria and Egypt had dropped previous reluctance and agreed to take some of the 6,000 guerrillas, thus eliminating one of the last big obstacles. Earlier, Jordan and Iraq had agreed to take the rest. "We have sufficient answers to start a comfortable implementation," Lebanon's Prime Minister Cheif al-Wazzan said. The Lebanese officials said American, French and Lebanese military experts were to meet today to draw up a timetable that would specify withdrawal routes and forms of transportation for the guerrillas and deploy-

ment arrangements for the multinational peacekeeping force and the Lebanese army.

But Israel, which had held out for unconditional withdrawal, remained doubtful. "Are they really willing to leave or are they just playing along, trying to gain time?" asked David Kimche, director general of the Foreign Ministry in Jerusalem.

Mr. Habib had telephoned Washington to protest that the earlier Israeli attacks were undercutting his diplomacy. A stern-faced Mr. Reagan told off Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir and sent warning messages to Prime Minister Menachem Begin. But Israel, insisting it was not launching "a general offensive for the conquest of the city," argued that "Habib's efforts will collapse if there is not also a credible Israeli military option."

"Nobody should preach to us," Mr. Begin told a delegation of visiting American Jews, who promised to raise \$200 million for Israel. "The terrorists broke the cease-fire, so of course we should hit back," he added. "When the Israeli Defense Force hits back, they hit hard."

Jerusalem's defiance included the United Nations. The Security Council ordered Israel to withdraw to last weekend's cease-fire positions and pressed Israel to accept United Nations observers to oversee the cease-fire, but Israel refused to pull back and rejected the observers as a potential screen to enable the P.L.O. to remain. The Council, with Washington abstaining, also censured Israel for breaking the cease-fire. But

the United States vetoed a Soviet proposal to embargo weapons shipments to Israel.

Jobless at 9.8% And Counting

Democrats thundered, Republicans stiffened their upper lips, but it was economists whose tone seemed best fitted to last week's fact. At the first anniversary of the passage of Ronald Reagan's Economic Recovery Tax Act, unemployment stood at 9.8 percent, the highest since the United States left the Great Depres-

sion and entered World War II. Said Allan Sinai of Data Resources: "This is a rather bleak number."

It is a number that most of Mr. Sinai's co-practitioners expect to only get bleaker. Employers, they noted, are slow to rehire until a recovery is well under way. And about the end of this recession, now a year old too, there is increasing doubt. The last important indicator for June was also released last week. It was as depressing as those that preceded it. New manufacturing orders, a harbinger of business income, dropped 0.3 percent.

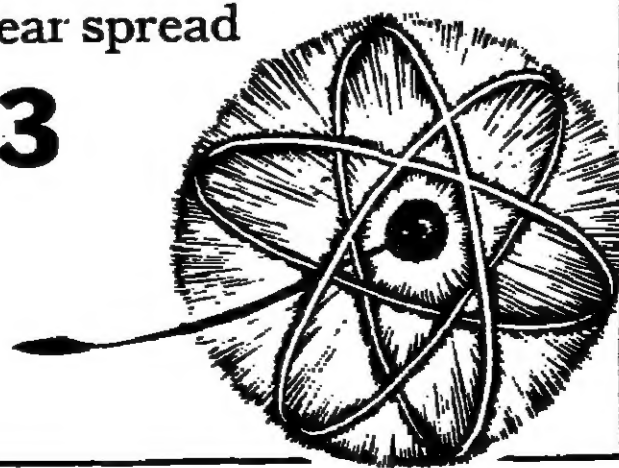
The White House stood by its upbeat assertions. Unemployment,

press spokesman Larry Speakes maintained, is a "lagging indicator" of recovery; the President's program, "once fully enacted, will provide a permanent solution." But there were also transformations. They began with hints that Mr. Reagan might go along with legislation supported by both parties to extend unemployment insurance benefits. They continued with Oval Office lobbying for a \$100 billion tax bill that would reduce by nearly a quarter last year's tax cut. And they culminated in a Presidential announcement that this week's planned California holiday would be postponed, to impress newly wavering Republicans of "the absolute necessity" of passing the revenue measure — and, by implication, pending cuts in social programs of \$30 billion.

Enough Congressmen facing reelection had been sufficiently impressed two months ago to vote a first budget resolution for 1983 requiring those cuts — in the aggregate. Dealing with them individually has been stickier, particularly when it comes to entitlements. In a forerunner of fights to come, the House refused to cut cost-of-living increases for Federal employees. And budget director David A. Stockman warned the Senate Budget Committee that next year will be even tougher on guaranteed benefit programs "as a practical matter, to close the budget deficit gap" and make room for higher arms spending. Point man once again, Mr. Stockman pushed the President's proclamation that his recent agreement with Congress on military budget totals was void.

Nuclear freeze, nuclear spread

2,3



People with people in mind.



בנק לאומי bank leumi

The World

In Summary

Nuclear Freeze Loses by a Hair in First Round

With President Reagan working the phones, the House last week narrowly defeated a call for an immediate verifiable freeze in Soviet and American nuclear arsenals. The measure lost by two votes, 204 to 202. The Administration claimed a significant victory based on the final vote, but opponents insisted that the close division was a big step forward for them. Sponsors planned to reintroduce the measure this week with renewed lobbying, which they vowed would punish hostile Congressmen at the polls in November.

The issue will be submitted to voters in referendums next month and in November in seven states and large cities with 25 percent of the population. It has already been endorsed by 199 city councils, 444 New England town meetings and legislatures in 10 states, the sponsors said.

Mr. Reagan argued that a freeze would perpetuate what he sees as United States strategic inferiority and would undermine American arms control negotiations at Geneva. Freeze backers replied that American and Soviet forces are roughly equivalent, with the Russians ahead in land-based missiles and the United States stronger in air- and submarine-launched weapons. They cited testimony by the military chiefs who have told Congress they would not want to trade arsenals with the Russians.

During nine hours of House debate, the Republican leader, Robert H. Michel of Illinois, denounced the freeze as "tantamount to national suicide." Representative Les Aspin, Democrat of Wisconsin, contended that for 20 years Mr. Reagan had opposed "every step toward arms control by every President of both political parties."

In the vote against the immediate freeze, all but 27 Republicans were opposed and 53 Democrats were in favor. The House then voted, 273 to 125, for the Administration's priorities — a freeze that would come only after a possible Soviet-American agreement on its plan for reducing nuclear forces.

Representative Henry J. Hyde, Republican of Illinois, disparaged the freeze campaign as "government by bumper sticker." But Representative Judd Gregg, Republican of New Hampshire, who voted for it, said the freeze issue was "the second most important in my district, after the economy."

Policy Blast

The Administration punctuated its recent decision to postpone negotiations on a comprehensive test ban treaty by touching off a nuclear explosion seven times as powerful as the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima 37 years ago last week. Windows shook in Las Vegas, 77 miles away; 21 minutes later, a chunk of desert the size of three football fields collapsed above 2,100-foot-deep underground test site at Yucca Flat, Nev.

But what most distinguished the test from 10 others this year was the Government's obvious attention to political and diplomatic effect. For the first time in two years, reporters were invited to watch on television from a concrete bunker 10 miles away. Their host, Energy Secretary James B. Edwards, found the test "exciting."

Mr. Edwards said it was not yet necessary to lift the 150-kiloton ceiling — Hiroshima times 10 — on nuclear testing that President Nixon and the Russians accepted in the 1974 Threshold Test Ban Treaty. But he left the door open for bigger blasts if "our opponents" made advances in protecting their cities against nuclear attack. The American nuclear deterrent rests ultimately on the threat of destroying Soviet cities. "There is a possibility in the future we might have to look at different types of nuclear weapons and testing," Mr. Edwards said. The Senate has not ratified the 1974 treaty because of disagreements with Moscow about verifying it, the same issue pushed by opponents of a comprehensive test ban.

Kenyan Uprising Brings Reprisal

For President Daniel arap Moi, last week's abortive uprising in Kenya was a ready excuse to intensify his recent crackdown on dissent. And he seized the opportunity, ordering the arrest of the 2,100-man air force, closing the universities and sending loyal army units out to deal "ruthlessly" with suspected perpetrators. More than 300 people — mostly rebels — were killed, the authorities said.

By African standards, Kenya's record had been almost too good to be true. In its 20 years of independence, it hadn't suffered an armed uprising. But its glass house of stability was shattered by last Sunday's coup, which Mr. Moi blamed on the "hooliganism" of "misguided youth" and dissidents blamed on political and social inequities.

Members of the air force seized the

airports and the official radio station, where they broadcast a statement accusing President Moi of "ruthless repression." They singled out his creation of a one-party state on June 9, the virtual banishment of opposition leader Oginga Odinga from political life, the detention of a handful of dissidents and the dismissal of a newspaper editor.

The grievances of other anti-Government rebels were more inchoate. Students and slum-dwellers looted downtown stores and hotels and robbed and terrorized bystanders in the center of Nairobi, where the uprising was concentrated.

A worsening economy as well as chronic tribal dissension have plagued Mr. Moi, who took over after the death of Jomo Kenyatta in 1978. His troubles caused concern in Washington, which relies on pro-Western Kenya for strategic and political support in East Africa.

Britain Rejects Pipeline Embargo

President Reagan never had allied support for his strenuous effort to block the Soviet natural gas pipeline to Western Europe, but it must nevertheless have come as an unpleasant anticlimax last week when Britain defied the embargo and joined the rest of the European Economic Community in condemning it as "unacceptable interference."

It was unclear what authority Mr. Reagan thought he had last month when he declared that a ban on sales of American-designed pipeline equipment to the Soviet Union would apply even to foreign companies operating in their own countries. But the E.E.C., needing the Soviets' business now and wanting its gas later, made plain in a formal protest that it thought he had none.

The note said the President's order, which was aimed at disrupting construction of a 3,700-mile pipeline from Siberian gas fields to Western Europe, appeared "even more objectionable than the Arab boycott" of companies doing business with Israel. The British, whose action followed similar stands by France, Italy and West Germany, also found it "quite inequitable" that the United States would ask them to forgo \$350 million in pipeline contracts even as President Reagan announced that the Soviet might buy "a record volume" of American grain under a second one-year extension of a five-year grain supply agreement. Washington reacted to the latest defiance of the embargo, intended to pressure Moscow for the easing of martial law in Poland, with "regret."

Meanwhile, other charges of trade inequality came from this side of the Atlantic. A proposal for steel import quotas, worked out between the Commerce Department and the E.E.C., was rejected by the American steel industry. One industry leader said the arrangement, which called for a 10 percent cutback in European steel shipments to the U.S., was "neither fair nor equitable" and would continue "unreasonably high levels" of subsidized European steel imports.

Panama's New Marching Orders

Almost everyone expected a rightward shift in Panama after the death of Brig. Gen. Omar Torrijos Herrera a year ago. Almost no one thought the change would occur so smoothly and quickly. On July 30, President Aristides Royo stepped down, citing a throat ailment. Last week hundreds of Government officials, from country commissioners to the 10 Cabinet officers, swallowed hard and followed him into early retirement.

Few doubt that the military was behind it all. Officers had blamed Mr. Royo, who was named President in 1978 by General Torrijos, for Panama's many problems, including corruption and high inflation and unemployment. The commander of the National Guard, Brig. Gen. Rubén Darío Paredes, didn't even try to be subtle. He "suggested" the mass resignations and announced a seven-day shutdown of Panama's newspapers an hour after Vice President Ricardo de la Espriella was inaugurated to succeed Mr. Royo.

More changes may be coming. General Paredes plans to retire to run for President in the 1984 elections, and the intelligence chief, hard-liner Col. Manuel Antonio Noriega, is expected to take his place.

The Reagan Administration had disapproved of Mr. Royo's "non-aligned" foreign policy and his recent call for a regional organization excluding the United States and including Cuba.

The shakeup had its roots in the political legacy of General Torrijos. During his 13 years in power, he zig-zagged between left and right, using pro-Marxist and pro-capitalist advisers, and supporting the Sandinist revolution in Nicaragua while granting asylum to the Shah of Iran.

Katherine J. Roberts,
Carlyle C. Douglas
and Milt Freudenheim

After Last Week's Coup Attempt, Kenyan Leader Felt Justified

Why Preferred Style in Africa Is One-Party Rule

By ALAN COWELL

NAIROBI, Kenya — When an emergent continent reclaimed its independence from foreign rule two decades ago, a rallying cry of some of those seeking to lead the new African nations was "one man, one vote." Cynics among those whose rule was expiring modified the slogan in a denigratory way so that it became "one man, one vote, once."

The message was that, having made a choice for a first postindependence leadership, many Africans would have little opportunity to make a second. And, as it has transpired, some of those first leaders have clung to power, using the mechanism of one-party states, a style of government whose ideological roots lie in the Marxist thinking of 19th century industrial Europe.

The latest African nation to transform itself formally into a one-party state is Kenya, where, as an attempted coup last week displayed, the apparatus of single-party dominance does not necessarily contain or express the passions of all those grouped under it.

The failed coup involved predominantly low-ranking air force personnel, supported by students and encouraged by a segment of Kenya's urban poor, who in the lawlessness of the attempted takeover looted and ransacked with destructive gusto.

The slogan became "power," accompanied by a clenched-fist salute, so that the evident greed of the looters became overlaid with the politics of economic deprivation and alienation within an elitist system. A bundle of looted goods almost became a symbol of the brief new order.

During the time they occupied the official Voice of Kenya radio station, the putschists denounced the four-year-old Government of President Daniel arap Moi as corrupt and dictatorial. They promised to replace it with a regime of socialist complexion, applying an ideological veneer over what, among some looters, seemed a spontaneous

blend of anger, greed and violence — undercurrents in Kenyan society that are rarely seen.

The rebellion was the latest and the most graphic indication of conflict between the Kenyan Government and its opponents. In recent weeks, President Moi's administration has tightened the screws on dissent, detaining seven people and demanding stern measures against a newspaper editor who questioned the detentions — in short, seeking to entrench its single-party rule.

Kenya has been run like a one-party state for many years, first under the late Jomo Kenyatta and, after his death in 1978, by President Moi. The elite that runs the country has changed little since independence from Britain in 1963. The recent crackdown, largely against intellectuals, displays a readiness to punish opponents that almost certainly fueled the passions of the rebellion.

Disallowing Criticism

But Kenya is not alone as a one-party state in Africa, and its example shows clearly the complexities of rule in a continent that is a patchwork of artificial frontiers, where the concept of nationhood beyond ethnic groupings is a still uncertain part of the colonial legacy.

All but a handful of African nations are run as formal, or de facto, one-party states. Although the system originates in Marxist-Leninist theory, its application slices across ideological lines. Angola, for instance, calls itself a Marxist state run by a "vanguard" party whose aim is to lead a scientific socialist revolution. Neighboring Zaire, too, is a one-party state, not for any obvious ideological reason, but rather to entrench a West-leaning elite around President Mobutu Sese Seko.

The explanations of the need for one-party rule are various: In Kenya, it is explained as a way to protect the nation against its own disruptive forces. In Zimbabwe, a democracy that aspires to one-party statehood, the socialist rulers assert that multiparty systems are divisive and use up energies that a developing nation cannot afford to

waste. Zimbabwe's Prime Minister Robert Mugabe said last week that he wants to establish one-party rule after the next election, which is scheduled for 1985.

It is argued, too, that there is an African tradition of consensus within a single structure, under a single chief, that can provide a forum for dissent without the destructiveness of a formal division of the nation into rival camps.

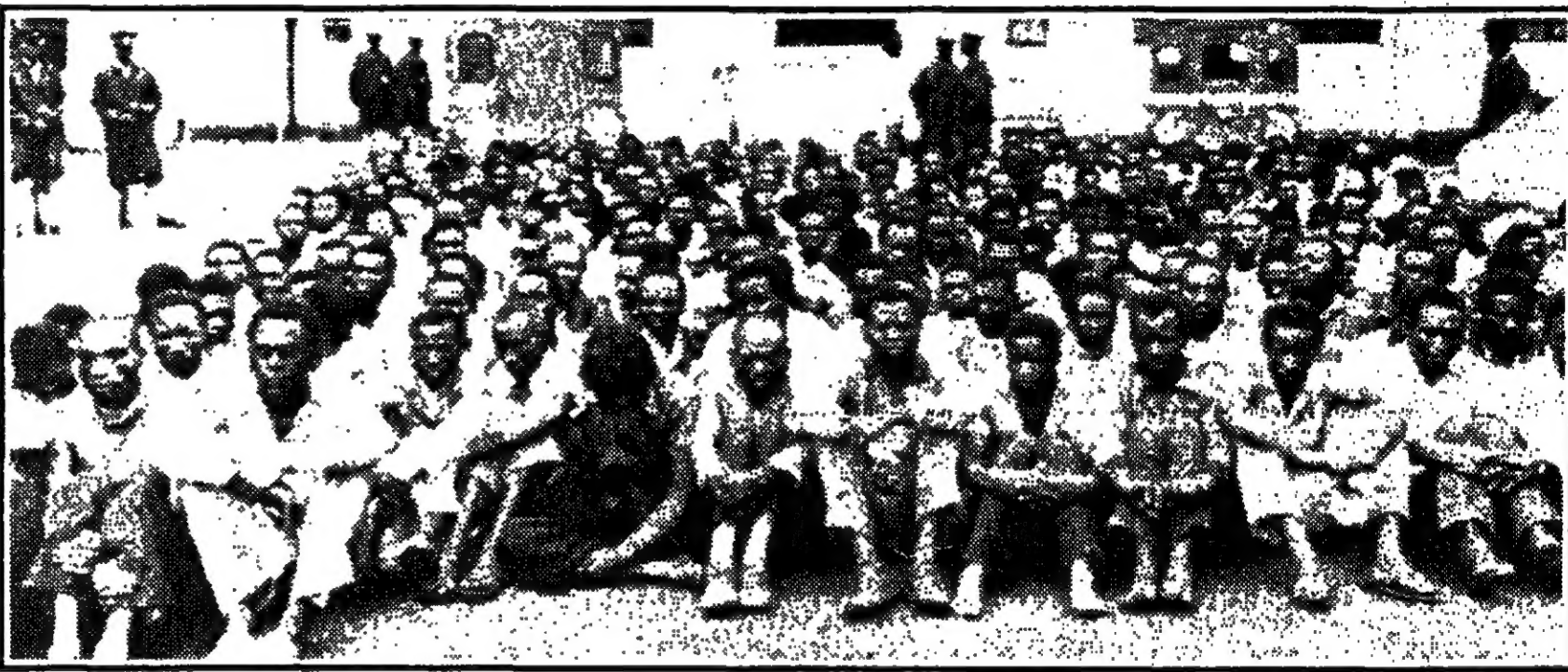
Yet only the narrowest of lines divides these arguments and the perception of a one-party state as a vehicle for perpetuating regimes that give their people little or no chance to exercise the real choices promised during decolonization.

Thus, many single parties rule in the name of "masses" who do not belong to the party and have no real ability to reject a leadership. By a kind of conceit tied to Africa's chiefly tradition, there is also a blurring of the distinction between the president as a person and the president as a symbol of national unity. Anybody who speaks against the leader must, according to this logic, be against the nation. When a Kenyan editor criticized this country's recent detentions, some of President Moi's supporters interpreted his words as an affront that amounted to treason since they called into question the leader's wisdom and thus the dignity of his office.

Yet the control and power bestowed by one-party rule is not as rigid as it may seem: The colonial era divided this continent into nation-states whose component tribes and peoples had not previously been contained within the frontiers demarcated in Europe's distant chanceries.

With the colonial withdrawal, the centrifugal forces that predated the foreigners' rule reasserted themselves in some countries, notably the Congo, now Zaire, and Nigeria. Against such divisive forces as tribalism and regionalism, some African diplomats argue, a ruler must have a strong and centralized system of control to demonstrate at least the appearance of power.

As Kenya's attempted coup showed, that control is expressed through only a few institutions. A classic target is the radio station, for example: It is through radio that the semblance of power can be established in hinterlands, usually deemed politically inert, as well as in cities. But, in Kenya's case, the insurgents evidently miscalculated the readiness of loyalist forces to relinquish control of those institutions that betoken power.



Suspected looters under guard in Nairobi after the abortive coup.

Military Corruption Ranges From Gold and Drugs to Private Banking

Bolivia Brass Puts a Price on Everything

By WARREN HOGGE

LA PAZ, Bolivia — The Bolivian military has never won a war against a foreign foe, but it has conquered its own country. "Bolivia," said a foreign resident, "is a country that exists for the armed forces and not the other way around."

Emboldened by guaranteed impunity, high-ranking officers have flouted the law and flaunted their gains more conspicuously than ever in the past two years. As a result, even their traditional allies in conservative sectors of Bolivian life are demanding that the generals be removed from power and that a civilian government be installed.

"In countries like ours where you pay public servants so little, and where the job depends on political favors, you will always have corruption," said a mining executive. "But the corruption these years, the cocaine dealing, has been simply too unbelievable and too open."

In response to nationwide work stoppages and roadblocks by peasant groups last week, the current ruling general, Guido Vildoso Calderón, said he would guarantee elections in April and turn the Presidential Palace over to the winner next year. The principal political parties, however, urged the immediate seating of the Congress elected in 1980.

General Vildoso also sought to assure fretful diplomats and members of his Cabinet that he no longer maintains his past association with Gen. Luis García Meza. General García Meza seized power in a bloody coup in July 1980, three weeks before an elected government was to take office, and in 13 months as president raised the level of corruption to previously unscalable heights.

A foreign banker with experience in a number of developing countries recalled with awe how \$250 million in Argentine Government aid to General García Meza had simply "disappeared" into the thin air of La Paz. The money reportedly went to buy the loyalty of regional commanders.

Argentina now refuses to pay Bolivia for \$200 million in natural gas, citing unpaid loans dating from the García Meza regime. That was a serious blow to the strapped Bolivian economy — which counted on the gas sales for a third of this year's exports.

Armed forces officials have prospered while the country sank even deeper into poverty. Despite its large mineral deposits and self-sufficiency in pe-

troleum and natural gas, Bolivia is South America's poorest nation. For years, air force planes have shuttled duty-free automobiles into Bolivia for officers, and land titles have been diverted to them at bargain prices. Recently, however, the growth of the country's cocaine trade — it is now estimated at \$5 billion to \$8 billion a year — has made corruption even more profitable.

Since leaving office a year ago, General García Meza has bought a \$400,000 mansion in the exclusive Irpavi residential sector of La Paz. Though thoroughly discredited in office, he managed to exact as the price of his removal gifts from the Government agrarian reform office of tracts of 3,700 acres each for members of his family.

Another member of his junta, air force Gen.



President Guido Vildoso Calderón (lower left) with members of Bolivia's ruling high command in La Paz.

Waldo Bernal, asked for an even higher severance payment. He wanted the Government to buy 52 Belgian jet planes for \$70 million, including \$14 million in overcharges and commissions to be split up between himself, General García Meza and air force General Natalio Morales.

The bid was so brazen that the International Monetary Fund was obliged to overcome its practice of steering clear of political matters, to caution General Bernal against the move. General Morales revived the proposal last week, even as Bolivia once again appealed to international lending agencies to save it from bankruptcy.

Generals Bernal and García Meza and a third member of their junta, Adm. Ramiro Terrazas, secretly set up their own private firm to mine and merchandise semiprecious stones, a multimillion

dollar business in Bolivia. When the armed forces chief of staff raised questions about the arrangement, he was dismissed by General García Meza, and shortly thereafter his car was ambushed in a La Paz street. Though the vehicle took 63 shots, the general survived.

While they were accused of stealing millions, the generals have not been above taking less. In February, army officials appropriated from customs offices sheets of tinted glass that had been imported to shield a new Olympic pool where an inter-American swimming match was to be held. Much of it can be seen in a plush new residential suburb of La Paz, where it has been used for windows in the homes of high-ranking officers.

A slaughterhouse built in the southern city of Tarija at a cost of \$600,000 was budgeted at \$3 million, with the leftovers for General García Meza.

The generals tried to profit from a road project between the towns of Chimore and Yacacani, but the deal was canceled by the Brazilian contractor when the \$53 million excess charge was discovered. Another contract was also canceled under General García Meza's successor, Gen. Celso Torrelio, when objections were raised to the Government's attempt to buy a \$478,000 clothing factory for \$8 million, with an eye toward spreading around kickbacks.

But such theft is truly petty when set alongside the sort of graft that has given military officers the resources to open their own downtown bank. Most Bolivian banks have so little currency that they have had to close for days at a time in recent weeks. Since drug trafficking is one of the few sources of foreign currency in Bolivia, it is suspected that the military bank is being used to launder "coca dollars."

The richest gold deposits in the country have been discovered on the Mapiro River, north of La Paz, and the military has set up its own development corporation to contract out the mining. The reserves now in the hands of the army are estimated at more than \$350 million, and, if the past is a guide, none of it will end up benefiting Bolivia.

Officers who resent such practices are seldom heard from. But one young colonel managed to circulate an anguished statement in the aftermath of a recent coup. It read:

"Ninety-five percent of my colleagues are tired of bearing on our shoulders the small groups who exploit us to satisfy their pretensions and bring the hatred of our people down upon our families and our institution."

A DEBATE: Nuclear Proliferation and Arms Control

If It's Too Late For a Freeze, What Chance For a Chill?

WITH criticism of the Reagan Administration's arms control policies growing, *The Week* in Review asked three experts — Senator John Glenn, Democrat of Ohio, Joseph S. Nye Jr., Deputy Under Secretary of State for nonproliferation policy in the Carter Administration, and Eugene V. Rostow, director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency — to address themselves to the spread of nuclear weapons around the world. Excerpts of their discussion with Leslie H. Gelb and Judith Miller of *The New York Times* Washington bureau and Caroline Rand Herron, an editor of *The Review*, follow.

Question. Obviously, it's important to try to do everything we can in every area to reduce the risks of nuclear war. But it seems that the so-called Start negotiations get all the attention. Are they really more important than efforts to prevent proliferation of nuclear weapons?

Mr. Rostow. I don't think there's any way of saying that the Start negotiations (on strategic weapons), the Intermediate Nuclear Forces negotiations (on theater nuclear weapons) or our program to try to prevent proliferation is the more important.

I can't imagine the restoration of general stability without a successful nonproliferation program and I can't imagine a successful nonproliferation program without the restoration of general stability. Similarly, since there can be no absolute wall between conventional war and nuclear war, there's no way of preventing nuclear war without restoring the rules against conventional war.

Senator Glenn. The problem is two-track — One, trying to get hold of existing nuclear stockpiles, second, to control the spread. Pursuant to the second, we passed the Nuclear Nonproliferation Act of 1978 (restricting exports of equipment and fuel that could be used in bombs).

At the present time we have a tremendous interest in the nuclear freeze movement. My view has been, of course we try to limit production, then we move to Start and reduce. But it will do us little good to have agreements between the Soviet Union and the United States if the years of negotiating have also seen 25 or 30 other nations get a nuclear capability that leaves the whole problem still out of control.

Q. Is nuclear war more likely to occur from not doing anything about proliferation than it is from not doing anything about Start?

Mr. Glenn. Fortunately, the (two) superpowers have been very responsible. I hate to think of a nuclear weapon in the hands of an Idi Amin or a Qaddafi, available in some of their irrational pursuits in a border incident that we would not view as a major item of world consequence but they do in their local area.

Mr. Nye. Obviously Start is important. But the probabilities of nuclear weapons being used in this century are much more likely between small powers. Some people have argued that because (for) 37 years the two major powers have not used nuclear weapons against each other, that deterrent relationship could be generalized to small states. But they forget in many of these countries the control systems technically and politically are not as well developed as they are among the superpowers. Nonproliferation deserves very high priority. My major difference with this Administration is I don't see that priority.

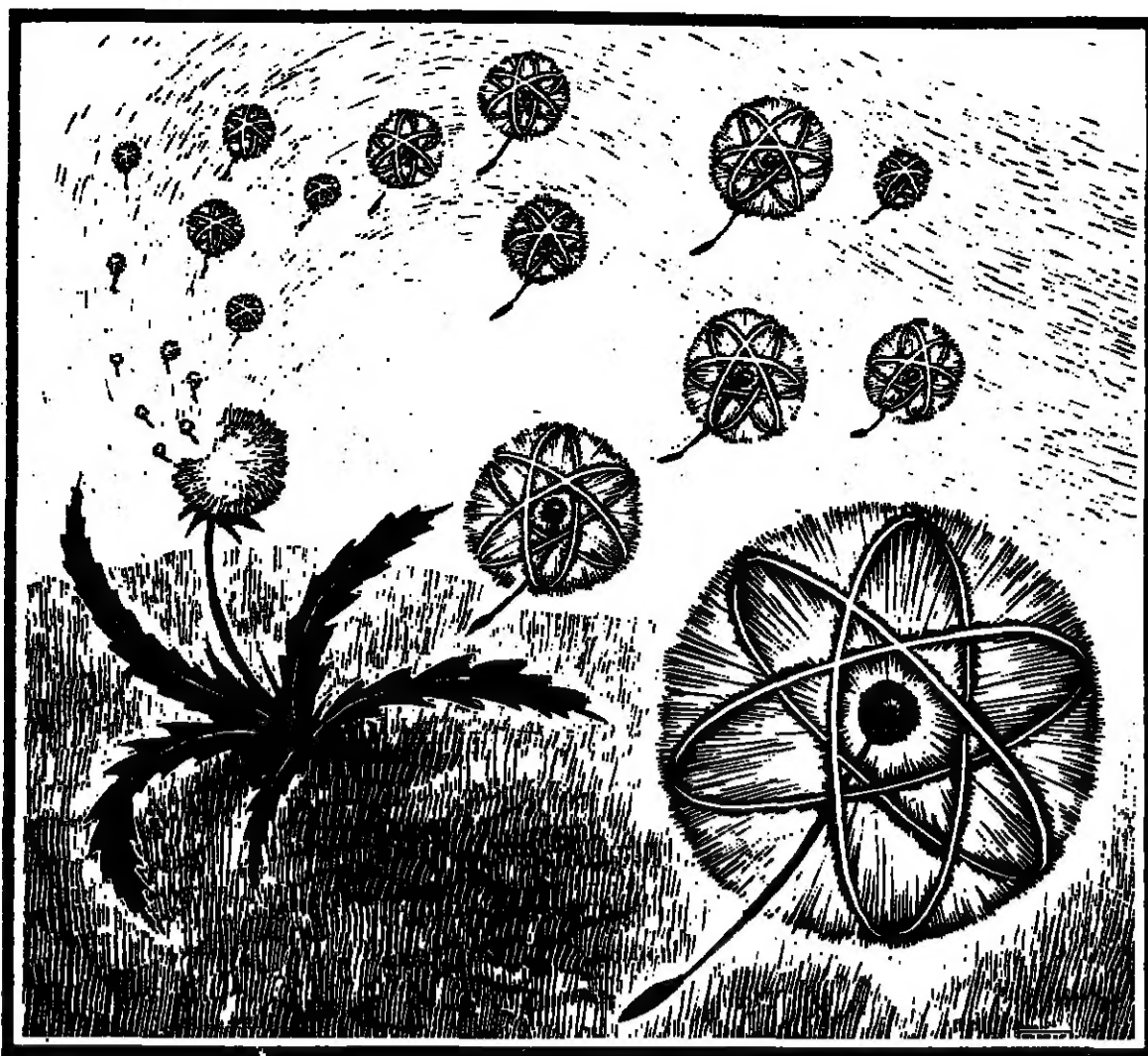
The Impulse Is Fear

Mr. Rostow. The most important source of the proliferation impulse, I think, is fear that arises out of the increasing instability of the world political system. There are others — there's the impulse of predation, and people with wild ambitions. But fundamentally many of the (states) that are most prominent candidates for proliferation live in dread, the elimination of which is one of the central themes of the policy of the Administration.

Q. There's already been considerable spread of knowledge and capability for building nuclear weapons. Is it too late to do much about preventing the spread?

Mr. Rostow. No, I don't think it's too late at all. There's great reluctance on the part of most states even to contemplate becoming nuclear power states. One ambassador said to me recently, we know that having nuclear weapons is a malediction.

Mr. Glenn. Right now we can control this spread by control of reprocessing and enrichment equipment (which create weapons-grade fuel). But if we have simple laser



Drawing by David G. Klein, The New York Times, 13 April 1982

isotope separation capabilities, then all bets are off. And those days are not too many years off.

In some ways nuclear power may have replaced having big steel capacities that 15 years ago were almost a status symbol for developing nations. Now it's a drive toward technological superiority in other areas, including nuclear. So I won't say it's too late, but I say unless we're willing to really take a tough stand on this issue and try to lead the world, time may be running out on us.

Mr. Nye. But I think you have to ask — too late for what? For another country ever getting a nuclear weapon, probably yes. To slow the spread, certainly no. And if you can slow the rate of the spread, you've a better chance of managing the destabilizing effects —

of reducing the probability that nuclear weapons will be used.

Q. What are you going to do about this, Mr. Rostow? What is Administration policy?

Mr. Rostow. It proposes two broad means of dealing with the risks of proliferation. The first is to attempt to restore general and regional stability; second, to get our control system geared to a nostalgia for the past, when we had a monopoly of much of the technology, (but) to base our attempts on international cooperation among the suppliers.

What we need is a policy that rests on a series of elements. First of all, we devote a tremendous amount of time to strengthening International Atomic Energy Agency efforts — not because (that United Nations agency) is really a safeguarding system. It isn't. But it's an adequate deterrent system, and helps provide an early warning. Secondly, attempt to supplement (that) surveillance with national intelligence efforts. Third, we're trying strongly to strengthen that pattern of cooperation among the suppliers on a realistic basis, taking full account of the nature of the modern world. And fourth, when proliferation risks become acute we go to the highest political level, to bring all the pressure we and other nations can bring on nations to deter them from becoming nuclear weapons states.

Mr. Glenn. I'm not that optimistic about things in this Administration. I don't say this for political reasons at all.

With regard to Pakistan, the Administration early on lobbied for repeal of the Glenn and Symington amendments to our foreign assistance act, which prohibits military or economic assistance to nations that will not agree with our criteria. A \$3.2 billion aid package went ahead.

Brazil has an unsafeguarded reprocessing facility and can't receive

our exports. The Administration allowed Brazil to purchase from other nuclear suppliers without any of the penalties provided in our law. Argentina, unsafeguarded, the same thing; South Africa, unsafeguarded, also. The Administration made no efforts to prevent United States nuclear brokers from getting around our embargo by buying fuel from European utilities. Recently, the Administration has reversed efforts by the Ford and Carter Administrations to defer reprocessing of civilian fuel and the use of plutonium here and abroad.

Mr. Rostow. Everything Senator Glenn said rests on the illusion that we still have a monopoly and that we're still omnipotent therefore. That's the reason why the pursuit of policy based primarily on Congressional restraints on exports has been so prolific of unnecessary friction, both with supplier nations and with third world nations interested in developing programs based on nuclear technology, ostensibly for peaceful purposes and in many instances in fact for peaceful purposes.

The statutes required us to break our contracts with India. Now because of changes in the political situation in the world, we've reached a settlement with India on this nuclear issue that has been such an irritant. Now I'll ask Senator Glenn, what use has the statute been? What advantage is it for us that the French are now going to be supplying the fuel rather than the United States?

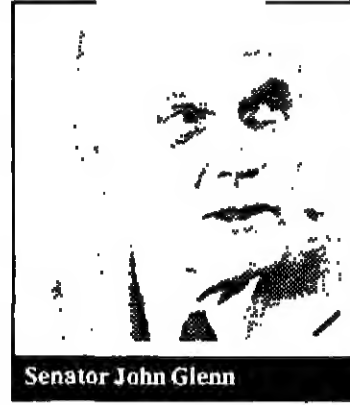
Mr. Glenn. This is fundamental. When we were considering whether legislation would be necessary, there was great debate whether we should encourage American nuclear business to get as involved as possible. There were comparatively few suppliers, which was the reason we decided it was best controlled by the government-to-government route — it would be more sure. What we have seen in the new Administration is a return to the idea that the more we get business involved, the more effect we will have. There may be places where that's true. But we passed the law. Now we see much of this being undercut.

With regard to India, I think we can hardly stand by and say to the 117 nations that have signed the nonproliferation treaty that if they had gone the nuclear route as India has, it doesn't really make that much difference if you just voluntarily sign.

Mr. Nye. But you can't rest a policy on export controls alone. My main complaint with the Administration policy really could be summed up by one word, priority. The Administration does not rank this issue in practice as high as in some of the words we've heard.



Joseph S. Nye Jr.



Senator John Glenn



Eugene V. Rostow

As the Union Approaches a Second Birthday, Its Power Is Debated

'Suspended,' Solidarity Thrives as a Symbol

By SERGE SCHMEMMANN

WARSAW — No one has to look hard to find the mark of Solidarity in Poland under martial law. Its name is etched in the grime of a factory wall, daubed on the gray sides of city courtyards and splashed on a calendar in the office of a priest. It is glorified in the songs of the throng gathered around the memorial cross of flowers in Warsaw's Victory Square, and printed on the leaflets strewn at the university. Solidarity was there, too, at last Sunday's ceremonies marking the anniversary of the World War II Warsaw uprising, in a clandestine tape-recorded appeal from the union's underground leader and in the chants of the crowd.

Almost eight months after the "suspension" of the independent trade union, which is two years old this month, the name of Solidarity lives on, a symbol of heroism and scorn for an unpopular government. But whether there is substance behind the name is a question that neither Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski nor Western diplomats nor even the union's fugitive leaders and the 10 million Poles they once claimed to represent can answer.

That question was posed even before martial law stripped the union of its leaders, stopped its printing presses and declared most of its activities to be criminal. The union had mushroomed from a strike committee squeezing specific concessions from the Communist regime into a mass movement embracing all the romantic, often contradictory and impossible dreams of a nation conditioned by partitions and suppression. "Solidarity," said a Western diplomat who watched it happen, "became

a genuinely democratic movement for an all-or-nothing people. Of course it became irrepressible."

But when General Jaruzelski cracked the whip on Dec. 13, he may have been as surprised as the union's supporters at how easily it was neutralized. As the months passed and no significant resistance developed, the General became bolder and effectively abandoned the notion of negotiating with Solidarity and its internal leader, Lech Walesa. A Polish official said last week that Mr. Walesa would be interned for "as long as the situation calls for it."

The Making of a Legend

Yet although the organization was immobilized, the passions it unleashed persisted, joining the many other Polish legends of heroic uprisings and foul repressions. Mr. Walesa joined the Polish Pope in the crowded pantheon of national heroes; and it has become routine at any gathering for Poles to sing defiant Solidarity songs or show the "V" for victory. On May 31, the people demonstrated the raw power of their discontent in a wave of violent protests in Warsaw.

What all this means for the future, however, is a matter of debate. Some think Solidarity's transformation from a functional union to a national symbol marked its demise as a social or political force. "The 'V' they show says more about how little they can do than how much," a Western diplomat said. "Dec. 13 proved that the security force wielded by the authorities, unpopular as they were, remained the most effective force around."

Others believe that Solidarity still has the power to move the masses. Although 637 of its best brains remain

indefinitely in detention and the authorities are on the alert for any clandestine activity, an underground "temporary coordinating commission" formed in late April by Zbigniew Bujak, who headed the Warsaw branch of Solidarity, has worked to centralize leadership.

The commission's initial steps were cautious and exploratory — a 15-minute horn-blowing gathering on May 13, a *moratorium* on public protest in July — and its statements until recently did not compare with the ultimatums issued by Solidarity in its heady final months. But a set of bold directives from Mr. Bujak's commission last week could be the first test of whether the current Solidarity has more than symbolic clout and whether General Jaruzelski will be compelled to deal further with the union.

In those statements, the underground leaders denounced the partial release of internees, called for a resistance movement and told union members to make their presence "exceptionally visible" toward the end of this month, culminating in nationwide demonstrations on Aug. 31, the union's second birthday.

The authorities are certain to try to disrupt the campaign and already there have been reports of a crackdown on illegal presses. Although Mr. Bujak's directives have been rebroadcast to Poland by Radio Free Europe, the underground's communication difficulties have been underlined by reports that Solidarity activists in Gdansk did not receive any message from the commission.

Even Aug. 31 is likely to provide a conclusive test of Solidarity's strength. It is an anniversary that might have been marked with or without Mr. Bujak's appeal. What is significant is that the underground decided not to call for a general strike, the great weapon it claims it still

How many statements have we seen by a President or Secretary of State? Very few. How many initiatives have we seen? The French indicated that they were willing to move toward complete safeguards. But we haven't seen any follow-up, and the French I've talked to indicate that from their perception the Americans have lost interest.

Or take the issue of trade-offs. Nonproliferation policy is not foreign policy. It's part of foreign policy. You're continually having to balance a variety of issues. In this Administration it always appears that nonproliferation tends to come second.

Nostalgia for Monopoly?

Mr. Rostow. You still share some of the nostalgia that Senator Glenn represents so powerfully.

In every situation that I've seen, it's been a question of whether we supply something under the full strictures of the law or whether the business goes somewhere else and under which circumstances do we have more influence. And it involves, as in the case of Pakistan, of course, the development of a security relation.

Mr. Glenn. As you put it, if we don't do it somebody else will. Why don't we do it with those somebody elses? **Mr. Rostow.** We work with them all the time. We're getting very good cooperation. But it is not cooperation in circumventing anything. It is to try to achieve common policy. Many times the answer will be, well, we had better stick to our contracts, but we'll move down to less enriched uranium (which is harder to use in weapons).

Now there are no meetings of the London club (the major supplier nations). There's no public visibility. The third world countries resent an appearance of control.

Mr. Nye. But why haven't we gone to those other supplier countries quietly, not in public, and asked them to move on full-scope safeguards (international inspection on all nuclear facilities)?

Mr. Rostow. We are talking about full-scope safeguards and urging them not to sell to countries that have not adopted full-scope safeguards. But there are a great many important countries that will not do so.

Q. On the one hand the United States supports the International Atomic Energy Agency safeguard system. On the other, the Administration seems to be promoting enrichment and reprocessing technology which the I.A.E.A. itself says is dangerous because the agency will not have for the foreseeable future the technical ability or the budget to safeguard. Isn't your policy inconsistent?

Mr. Rostow. The key to our reprocessing policy is to work with Europe and Japan to develop reprocessing capabilities under the more effective international safeguards and controls for their use and possibly that of third countries. There's absolutely no way by imposition of our own contracts to confine reprocessing to the United States or to prevent reprocessing in many other countries.

Mr. Nye. You're right, facilities have already been created in countries like France and Japan. But there's a big gap between that statement and encouraging reprocessing by trying to get other countries to bail out the Barnwell (reprocessing) plant in South Carolina — which the Office of Management and Budget is not willing to finance, (because it) does not make sense economically.

Q. We heard recently about an Administration decision to not resume comprehensive test-ban talks. What's the relationship between efforts to achieve a comprehensive test ban and nonproliferation?

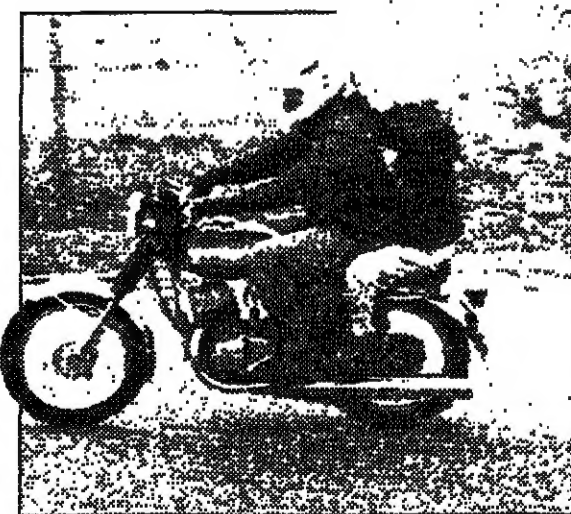
Mr. Rostow. First, the policy which received so much attention in the last couple of weeks was announced (months ago). We said we're perfectly loyal to the idea of a comprehensive test ban as an ultimate goal but the time is not propitious for it. We therefore are concentrating on the Threshold Test Ban Treaty and the peaceful nuclear explosives issue. We felt we were taking a strong step forward.

Now, to what extent are these issues mythical? It is impossible and inconceivable that a comprehensive test ban could suffocate the nuclear weapon within long generations. People believe it with great passion, but it just isn't so. It's part of the idea that arms control agreements can achieve peace aseptically without blood, sweat and tears by passing a resolution or adopting a treaty.

Mr. Nye. The relationship between arms control measures at the strategic level and nonproliferation is often exaggerated, particularly in United Nations rhetoric. But there is a relationship. To the extent that the United States treats nuclear weapons as useable it makes them look more desirable and to the extent that we profess disdain of arms control measures it affects the key measure in this area, the nonproliferation treaty.

Mr. Glenn. Well, I feel our reach should always exceed our grasp. I would like to think that my children, my great-grandchildren and probably my great-grandchildren might have a hope of living in a world free from nuclear dangers and that there would be a comprehensive test ban somehow, some way in the future.

If there is not a pullback from the threshold test ban or from the peaceful nuclear explosion limitations, then I would like to see the President call for Congress to ratify those. They were negotiated in '74, '76. They've been sitting here on the shelf. At least that would move us a little bit down the pike toward control. I see no reason why we should scare people by intimating somehow that we're backing off from these things.



Polish youths riding down a Gdansk street with a Solidarity banner in May.

wields. For all the potential dangers of street demonstrations — and they are great in a nation still savoring its recent taste of democracy — the critical question is whether Solidarity's handful of underground leaders can call or control a strike when people's primary concern is stretching their rapidly shrinking income to the end of the month.

A major disappointment among internees freed from detention centers is the contrast between the gun-bo milliance they sustained behind bars and the apathy they are encountering outside. One measure of the disappointment has been the steady stream of former detainees who are considering emigration — Western embassies report 1,000 inquiries in recent months. General Jaruzelski evidently believes that fatigue and time are on his side, even if the writing on the walls is still "Solidarność."

BROADWAY 80

i'm glad I changed...

The Nation

In Summary

Who Can Resist Bargain Rates on Political Virtue?

"It's quite hard to explain why you are not for motherhood, or low interest rates or a balanced budget," Senator John H. Chafee, a Rhode Island Republican, conceded last week. But even so, after two weeks of debate the Republican-controlled Senate barely approved by the required two-thirds vote (69-31) a constitutional amendment that would require a balanced Federal budget unless the country was at war or a waiver had been approved by a three-fifths vote in both houses of Congress.

Senator Strom Thurmond called the outcome "a step in turning the country around." Opponents maintained that the vote had been shaped by desperation. "It is a sign of the dire straits in which the Republican Administration find themselves," declared Senator Edward M. Kennedy. However, the amendment was supported by many Democrats — among them the minority leader, Robert C. Byrd — concerned that a "no" vote might push them into the ranks of the jobless in November.

Many Democrats who voted for the measure, which requires balanced budgets starting two years after ratification by the constitutionally required number of states — 38 — clearly hoped that the House would stand fast against it. The outlook there was murky, however. After a preliminary vote count, Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. said there was a "possibility" that the amendment would get nowhere on his side of the Hill. But supporters of the proposal were seeking signatures on petitions needed to pry the amendment from the House Judiciary Committee headed by Peter W. Rodino Jr., who opposed it. If the proposal reaches the floor, many Representatives who privately regard the amendment as an irresponsible quick fix may be reluctant to give their constituents reason to doubt their parsimony.

It was also unclear how House debate would be affected by a last-minute revision adopted by Senate conservatives making it much more difficult for Congress to raise the national debt limit. Senator Orrin G. Hatch, the Utah Republican who co-sponsored the balanced-budget amendment, lamented that with the inclusion of the debt limit restriction conservatives who had sought for the proposal for a quarter-century may "have done themselves in." His fear was that many otherwise sympathetic Representatives might regard that revision as a step too far.

down, Mr. Reagan insisted that he had inherited an economic mess, not caused it.

Meanwhile, politics was near the top of organized labor's agenda. At a conference in New York, the A.F.L.-C.I.O. executive council — seeking to regain some of its clout — decided to endorse a Presidential prospect, presumably Democratic, in December 1983 if two-thirds of the board's members can agree on one. The federation, which hasn't had much to cheer about lately, took some solace in last week's announcement by the Administration (political considerations were denied) that it would delay its effort to broaden the hours and kinds of jobs that 14- and 15-year-olds can work.

Deeper Trouble In Massachusetts

With just over a month to go before primary day, it's just what Massachusetts Gov. Edward J. King, an incumbent in trouble, doesn't need — a brightly burning corruption scandal fanned even higher by charges of a coverup and, a few days ago, the apparent suicide of a senior official of the state Revenue Department.

Like many a political contretemps, this one didn't look so dramatic to start with. In June, one Stanley Barczak, a rather low-level tax examiner, was arrested on bribery charges. In an ensuing investigation, it was determined that (1) Mr. Barczak had been convicted of fraud in 1953, not long after leaving the Pittsburgh office of the Internal Revenue Service; and (2) he appeared to have landed on the commonwealth's payroll despite his record at least in part because he had been a volunteer in the Governor's campaign in 1978. That, when Mr. King defeated Gov. Michael Dukakis, who now has an excellent chance of returning the favor in the Sept. 14 Democratic primary.

The affair was to get much more complicated. The attorney general's chief criminal prosecutor, Stephen Delinsky, subsequently charged that revenue commissioner Joyce Hampers was attempting to hide corruption in her department. She counter-charged that Mr. Delinsky had been behind a blackbag operation directed against one of her tax offices. Mr. Delinsky had a comeback. Mrs. Hampers, he maintained, had attempted to use state police to confiscate records from the home of an important prosecution witness. Last weekend, John F. Coady, a deputy revenue commissioner and reportedly a prosecution target, was found hanged in his home.

Light Turns Green For Clinch River

Prospects for the Clinch River breeder reactor seemed to be dimming a few months ago. Congress had come close to denying continued funds for the project, and a newly appointed member of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, James Asselstine, voted in May against giving the Government a hurry-up permit to begin work on the reactor site.

But last week the five-member commission, with Mr. Asselstine joining two other Reagan appointees, voted 3-1 to let the Energy Department sidestep normal licensing requirements — including a battery of environmental hearings — and begin initial construction immediately. Mr. Asselstine said he changed his mind because the department had "made its case."

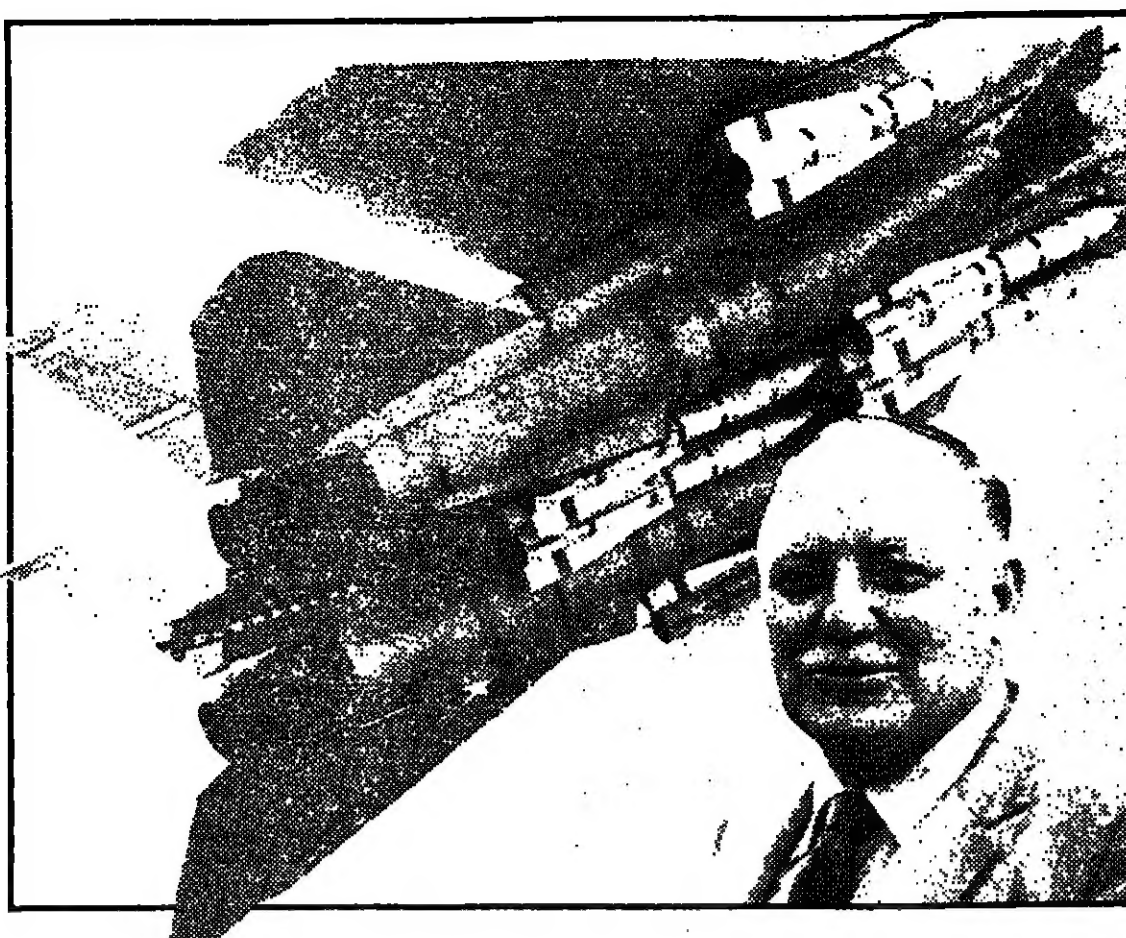
The waiver, which the Sierra Club and the Natural Resources Defense Council said would be challenged in court, will allow the department to begin clearing and grading a 290-acre site in Oak Ridge, Tenn. The commission hasn't approved installation of the reactor, controversial because of its cost — about \$3.6 billion — and because it would produce more plutonium fuel than it consumed.

President Carter maintained that breeder technology might make controlling the spread of nuclear weaponry more difficult and was too expensive; he wanted to scrap the project, which has been on the drawing boards for more than a decade. Congress wouldn't go along, but last year the Senate — despite the best efforts of the reactor's prime Congressional defender, majority leader Howard H. Baker Jr., who hails from Tennessee — came within two votes of disapproving the latest installment of funds. Presumably the Energy Department hopes that with site-preparation work under way and close to \$1 billion already invested in the project, Congress will be more inclined to vote the money.

Meanwhile, the Administration's proposal for dismantling the Department of Energy — contained in legislation now languishing on Capitol Hill — received another setback last week. The General Accounting Office said that merging many of the agency's operations with another department, Commerce, would save nowhere near the \$400 million claimed by the Government.

Caroline Rand Herron and Michael Wright

New York's Addabbo Homes In on Big-Ticket Weapons



Grumman's F-14 Tomcat fighter plane carrying Phoenix missiles. Representative Joseph P. Addabbo.

The New York Times: D. Gorton, Associated Press

A Defense Budget Expert Who Wants Less of It

By MARTIN TOLCHIN

WASHINGTON — Representative Joseph P. Addabbo, the Queens Democrat who heads the defense subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee is something of an anomaly — a chairman of an important military-affairs subcommittee who opposes much of what the Pentagon wants. As such, Mr. Addabbo, chairman since 1979, has often found himself at odds with his colleagues.

For instance, he regards the Administration's military spending plans for fiscal 1984 — reported last week to be in the neighborhood of \$247 billion, about 11 percent bigger than the Pentagon budget now pending in Congress — as "way over the mark." But given the House's recently displayed reluctance to cut much out of the defense authorization bill for fiscal 1983, he concedes that making deep reductions will be difficult.

"Members of Congress always talk cut, cut, cut where the Pentagon is concerned," he says. "But in the end they always support spending. I know it will be another uphill fight this year. But I hope they'll start hearing about, and reacting to, the reductions in people programs and not regard military spending as quite so sacrosanct."

As his subcommittee winds up work on appropriations legislation for the new fiscal year, Mr.

Addabbo, something of a dove in a nest of hawks, has his sights set on such plump, controversial targets. In past years, he has fought with varying success against the B-1 bomber, the neutron bomb, the Pershing Missile and nerve gas.

He says he opposes those programs because he believes them to be overly expensive, ineffective and a poor use of the nation's resources. (Mr. Addabbo also voted for the nuclear freeze, arguing that "It makes no sense to kill a person ten times.") "My job is to make sure that the dollars supposed to be spent on national defense are really spent for that purpose, and you don't fool the American people," he said, adding, "You can't fool our enemies, either."

Cambodia Was a Turning Point

By and large, Mr. Addabbo is an old-fashioned politician who has relied less on oratorical skills than on backroom dealings, and the quiet application of his acknowledged expertise on military matters. He is, in fact, something of a Washington rarity — a self-effacing public figure with few enemies. He has labored in near anonymity for much of his 22-year Congressional career. Perhaps his best known legislative victory came in 1973, when he sponsored the first antiwar resolution ever to pass the House, one cutting off funds for the bombing of Cambodia. It was all the more striking because Mr. Addabbo had at one point been a strong

supporter of United States' military involvement in Vietnam.

But he is apparently so little appreciated back home that state Democratic leaders drawing up reapportionment plans a few weeks ago placed him in a district with another Democratic incumbent, who subsequently withdrew to find another district. "In no other state in the union would they have taken the chairman of the defense subcommittee and thrown him in a district with another congressman," said Representative Benjamin S. Rosenthal, another Queens Democrat.

New York legislators may believe that it was sheer happenstance that averted the planned closings of a number of New York military installations, or brought hundreds of millions of dollars in defense contracts to the state. His colleagues believe differently. "Joe Addabbo enables us to bring home the bacon," says Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato, Republican of New York, a freshman member of the Senate Appropriations committee. (Mr. Addabbo claims to have had little to do with the Navy's selection, reported last week, of the New York-built Grumman F-14 Tomcat as its principle fighter. But, he says, "The Navy knows I regard the F-14 as the best fighter they have.")

While maintaining that he has declared war on waste and inefficiency, he also believes that military spending should be used to strengthen the weaker sectors of the economy. "I strongly believe that national defense can be used in helping different parts of the nation," he said. "There's no reason that the defense industry has to be located in the South and West."

Along with other Northern members of Congress, Mr. Addabbo has long sought to modify regulations that direct the Defense Department to accept the lowest bids, a measure he maintains was enacted primarily to benefit the nonunion South. An amendment attached to the 1983 military authorization bill provides that bids originating in areas of high unemployment could be up to 6 percent higher than the lowest bids.

Sometimes the bacon slips away, however. Mr. Addabbo recently fought unsuccessfully to have the \$500 million refitting of the battleship Iowa assigned to the old Brooklyn Navy Yard, where the ship had been built. But last month the Navy awarded the contract to Gulf Coast shipyards, a decision Mr. Addabbo attributed to the clout of Democratic Senators Russell B. Long of Louisiana, John C. Stennis of Mississippi and other such heavyweights — and long-time Pentagon boosters — from the Deep South. That decision, he says, "shows a total disregard for the welfare of cities."

The following morning, Mr. Addabbo convened his subcommittee and removed \$546 million from the Navy's shipbuilding program.

Civil Rights Groups Revive the Boycott as a Weapon of Progress

Turning Back the Clock to Move Ahead

By SHEILA RULE

LOS ANGELES — The National Urban League billed one session of its annual conference last week as a look at the future of the civil rights movement. The guest speaker, the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson of Operation PUSH, brought the audience to its feet as he exhorted blacks to demand equal participation in the nation's business sector. His topic, "Boycotting and Bargaining, From Aid to Trade: A Formula for Development," reflected civil rights leaders' recently renewed emphasis on self-reliance and economic development.

Many continue to advocate that the Federal Government increase its financial commitment to black and poor Americans. At his organization's convention, Urban League president John E. Jacob called for a \$100 billion public works program, a "Marshall Plan-like effort" to revitalize the nation's cities. Mr. Jacob acknowledged that the Federal Government would have to assume a "significant" share of the cost.

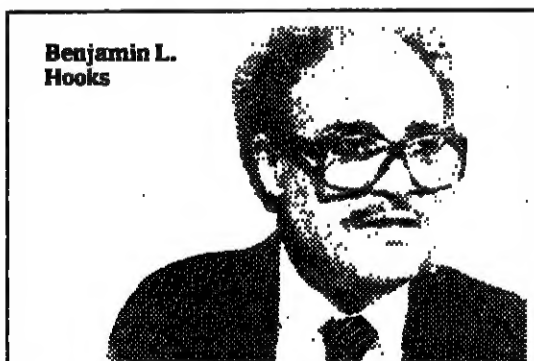
But similar proposals in the past have gone unrealized. The late Whitney M. Young Jr. called for a "domestic Marshall Plan" when he was the League's executive director in the 1960's and civil rights were higher on the White House agenda than they are now.

So black groups are not banking on any significant new Federal commitment but are instead rolling up their sleeves to grapple with the hard reality of attempting to do more with less. This is necessary, they say, largely because of the Reagan Administration's broad changes in national policy and its reductions in social aid.

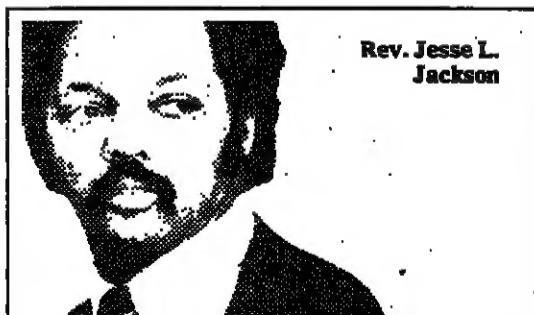
In the face of a growing national conservatism in economic and social matters that many say represents the civil rights community's most difficult challenge in recent years, black groups seemed for a time to be at a loss for programs to maintain the progress of the last 20 years. They are now largely turning their energies to the private sector and are dusting off one of what has historically been one of their most effective weapons, the economic boycott.

They are seeking to have companies and industries channel some of their profits into black communities through jobs and support of black-owned businesses — or face the loss of black patronage. While the shift in strategy has already resulted in some agreements with private firms, some question whether civil rights organizations can achieve economic gains through direct negotiations with the nation's businesses that are comparable to the social progress secured through constitutional and political means. It is considered crucial that the groups move quickly, with programs that include dogged monitoring of agreements with businesses.

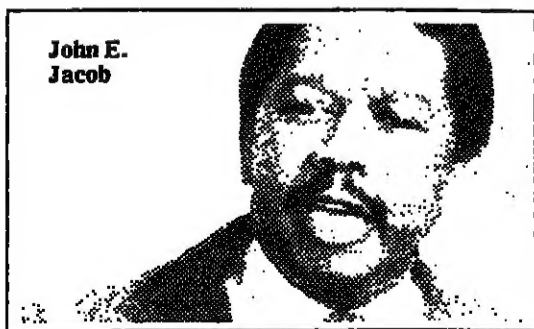
This would be no easy task for the civil rights organizations. Groups such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the nation's oldest and largest civil rights group, are chronically short of funds for new programs.



Benjamin L. Hooks



Rev. Jesse L. Jackson



John E. Jacob

Then, too, many of the potential corporate targets of programs such as the N.A.A.C.P.'s recently announced "Operation Fair Share" are not exactly flush these days either.

The group is nevertheless going ahead. It has named a national director of its economic development program and created an institute to train local leaders in selective buying techniques. It was announced at the association's convention in Boston last month that a "declaration of principles" had been reached with the American Gas Association and the Edison Electric Institute. However, the association has left the negotiation and carrying out of agreements with the industry groups largely to its 1,300 branches, many of which are staffed by volunteers who lack sophistication in dealing with corporations.

Last week, the N.A.A.C.P. announced that its negotiations with the movie industry, begun eight months ago in an effort to improve employment and economic opportunities for blacks in that in-

dustry, would be expanded to include talks with television networks. The association's executive director, Benjamin L. Hooks, has said the group would use the "ultimate tool of economic withdrawal" against movie studios and television networks if necessary.

Nearly 700 civil rights advocates who gathered in Gary, Ind., last month at the invitation of Mayor Richard Hatcher were of a like mind. At the meeting, a sort of black economic summit session, they agreed to focus on using the \$150 billion that blacks spent or controlled each year as leverage to demand equal opportunity in the business arena.

Earlier this summer, Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity) announced at its convention in Charleston, S.C., that it had reached agreement with the Seven-Up Company of St. Louis on a plan for the company to invest \$61 million over five years to develop black businesses. It has worked out a similar pact with the Heublein Corporation and is planning a meeting between black leaders and executives of the automobile industry. Last year, PUSH reached accord with the Coca-Cola Company to expand black participation in the beverage industry.

Mr. Jackson considers that plan the model for future PUSH agreements with other major companies. The one-year pact with Coca-Cola, which had a 1981 net income of \$481.7 million on total revenues of \$5.88 billion, was said to be worth about \$11 million.

While the new impetus grows out of the conservative national mood, it is also due in part to a recent United States Supreme Court ruling in a boycott case. The High Court overturned a Mississippi judge's ruling that the N.A.A.C.P. was liable for damages suffered by businesses it urged blacks to boycott. The lower court ordered the organization to pay \$1.25 million to businessmen in Port Gibson for losses resulting from an N.A.A.C.P.-sponsored boycott in the 1960's. Civil rights groups had curtailed their boycott activities pending the outcome of the case.

Stressing Unemployment

The National Urban League is stressing the immediate need for jobs over broad-based economic development — the Labor Department reported that black joblessness in July, at 18.5 percent, was nearly double the national rate, which, at 9.8 percent, was the highest in 41 years — but the League does "reserve the right to use" boycotts.

The League is urging blacks to look to themselves for solutions to their communities' prickly problems, including teenage pregnancy, poverty, crime and inadequate voter participation. It plans to address these concerns beginning in October through forums for young blacks at its 117 affiliate offices.

"For too long, we have depended on good white people or the government to solve our problems," Mr. Jacob said recently. "These internal problems are problems that Washington is not going to do anything about and that the private sector does not know how to deal with. That only leaves us."



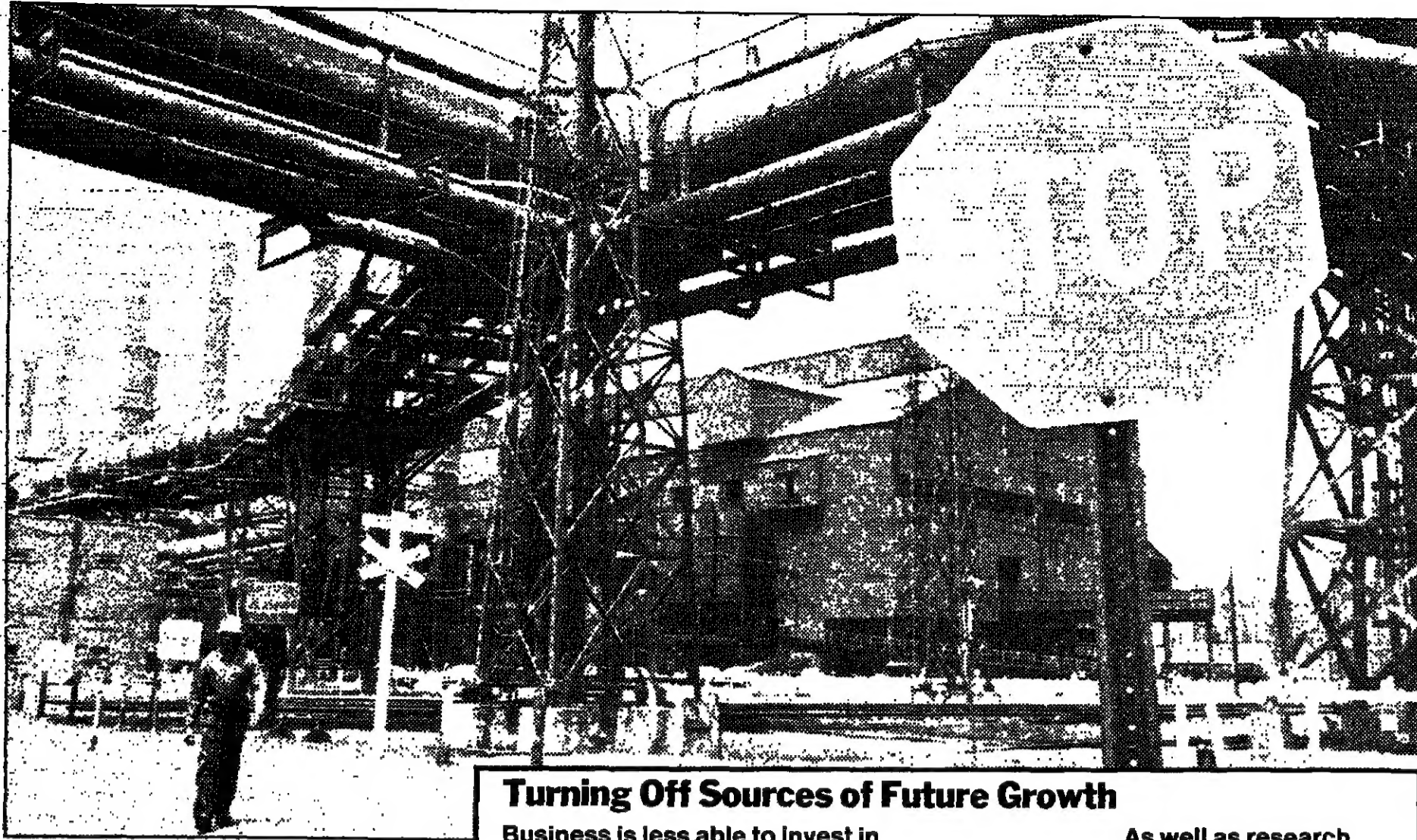
President Reagan petting a boar on a family farm in Iowa last week.

Politics, the Art Of the Plausible

Not much can match the panoply of a Presidential road show. Accordingly, Ronald Reagan last week began what is to be a series of one-a-week, out-and-back political forays intended to buck up his standing — and perhaps that of a few Republican candidates in November.

Corn growers convened in Iowa heard about improving prospects for big grain deals with the Soviet Union (and financial harvests for themselves). The centennial meeting of the Supreme Council of the Knights of Columbus in Hartford, Conn., was reminded that Mr. Reagan was four-square behind tax credits for families with children in private schools and for antiabortion legislation. (As if on cue, majority leader Howard H. Baker Jr., said the Senate would probably take up proposals to restrict legal abortions in mid-August.) And wherever Air Force One touched

The Erosion of American Industry



The Bethlehem Steel Corporation's mill at Sparrows Point, Md.

The recession's cruel effects are expected to cut deeply into business and the economy for many years to come.

By KAREN W. ARENSON

AMERICAN industry has spent the past year in a crucible, and in the process it has been purged of a great deal of waste. In fact, some management experts predict that the economy will emerge from this recession leaner, tougher and more ready to take on foreign competition. "The whole system was getting fat and lazy and not paying attention to detail," said Chester Devenow, chairman and chief executive of the Sheller-Globe Corporation, a Toledo, Ohio, auto parts manufacturer. "Recession has been a great catharsis."

Though there is some truth in this optimistic view of the country's economic problems, it is far from the whole story. For every Chrysler that is forced to restructure its operations, becoming more efficient as a result, there are many other companies that simply will not survive at all, or will survive but in greatly weakened condition.

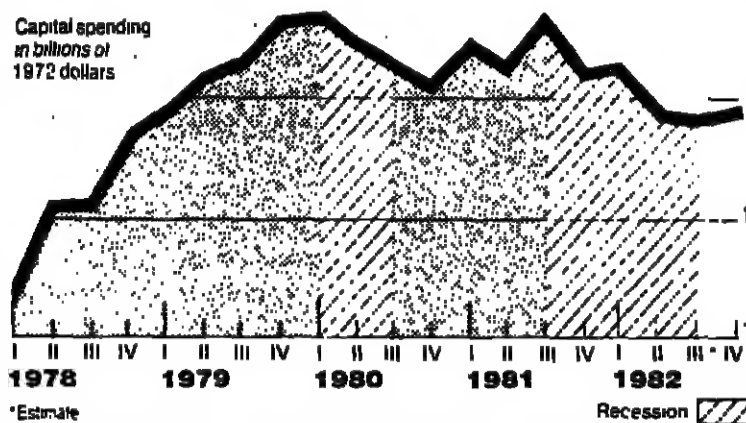
"All this talk of catharsis is really just twaddle," said A. J. Steigmann, an economist at the Ford Motor Company. "It's the old story of cod liver oil being good for you, when all it really does is to give you a stomach ache. All we are doing is putting a permanent crimp in the economy."

Indeed, while most economists agree that there may be some improvement in the economic efficiency of certain industries, they warn that the recession has had an insidious effect that is likely to overwhelm any potential improvement. In fact, many believe that the economic downturn, which has already driven Braniff, AM International and other big companies into bankruptcy and pushed the unemployment rate up to a staggering 9.8 percent last month, could ultimately lead to a shrunken economy and a severely strained business sector.

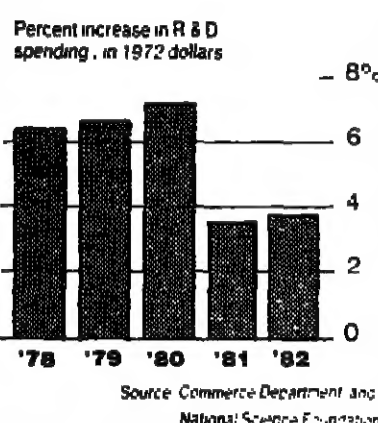
Recessions have certainly battered the economy before, but this one is expected to leave deeper scars because it has been both sharper and longer-lasting than most; many industries — automobiles, housing and countless others — have been depressed for three years now. Moreover, the recession has come at the end of a troublesome decade that has forced business to cope with spiraling inflation, sharply higher energy prices, sky-high interest rates and devastating competition from abroad. No recession has

Turning Off Sources of Future Growth

Business is less able to invest in plant and equipment...



As well as research and development



ended with the economy facing such tough adjustment problems as the ones that now exist.

Perhaps the most worrisome consequence of the current recession is that business is scaling back spending on capital investment and research and development, both of which are the underpinnings of tomorrow's growth. Metals companies, auto makers, railroads, airlines, utilities and electrical machinery concerns have all been reining in plant and equipment outlays for some time and are expected to continue to do so. A survey by McGraw-Hill shows that business will spend only 3.9 percent more on investment projects in 1982 than last year. Adjusting for inflation, that represents a 4.5 percent decline.

Similarly, the annual percentage increase in spending on research and development has shriveled from 7.2 percent in 1980 to an estimated 3.8 percent this year, a disturbing figure for a nation that has prided itself on innovation.

"By cutting into capital investment now, we are bending our country's long-term growth trend down," said Albert T. Sommers, chief executive at the Conference Board. "A very prolonged deferral of investment will cost the country hundreds of billions of dollars in lost output, compared to what we would have had under conditions of reasonably normal growth. It will take a long time to make this up."

Corporate America is also trying to cut costs in the area of worker training, a development that Lester C. Thurrow, a professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, says will further hamper the economy when it emerges from recession.

"The problem with a financial crunch is that you do make cuts, but you make them wherever you can," Mr. Thurrow said. "All new training stops, so we are building a very unskilled labor force, which will tend to make the economy less efficient. And it is not only technical skills that atrophy, it is also work behavior."

While an endless number of companies are cutting back on investment, others are closing their doors altogether. Dun & Bradstreet, which tracks business failures, says that bankruptcies are now at a 50-year high, with an average of 452 businesses filing for protection from their creditors each week. And the weeding-out process does not always strike at the companies that would be deemed the most marginal, an indication that the shakeout will continue for some time.

"Some fairly healthy enterprises are going bankrupt, largely because of punitive interest rates," said Robert Lekachman, a professor of economics at the Herbert H. Lehman College and Graduate Center of the City University of New York. "The economy is not just getting lean, it is suffering from pernicious anemia."

"I'm really very amazed at the staying power of some of the more inefficient companies," said Daniel Carroll, a management consultant with offices in Chicago and Ann Arbor, Mich. Citing such examples as Allis Chalmers, International Harvester, Pullman and American Motors, he added, "So I wouldn't place too much reliance on the recession's having shaken out all the inefficiencies. Some of the less effective companies did fade away, some of those that have remained are here because they are sheltered in some way or other."

Others companies may find, through no fault of their own, that the recession has made their customers less well off, and that they therefore are buying fewer goods. "A lot of good firms, like Boeing and Caterpillar, are taking a pounding, and will be worse off competitively after the recession than before," Mr. Thurrow said, noting that these are not examples of sloppy management, but of companies that have simply watched orders dry up. Just last week, the Boeing Company reported a 49.3 percent drop in second-quarter earnings because of sharply lower deliveries to the struggling commercial airlines.

And Peter Solomon, a partner at Lehman Brothers Kuhn Loeb, is concerned that the companies that do survive the recession may find their production capabilities reduced because other companies have failed. "The fact that all the small suppliers are going out of business is the greatest threat to American business," he said. "Who are the big companies going to subcontract to when business comes back?"

How each company copes with recession, and whether the changes it makes put it in a stronger position for the fu-

The Economy

ture, depends in large part on the industry it is in, its financial shape, and the creativity of its management.

But even if individual companies are strengthened by cutting "fat" and "waste," the implications for the overall economy of such shrinkage — in employment, in production, in operating capacity — could be devastating. Even if the plants and people who do remain employed are more efficient, there will be vast unused resources, both plant and equipment and skilled people. Previously, they were producing something. Now they will be idle and wasted, a drag on the economy.

"If the recession comes to an end, it is not clear that there will be much recovery in terms of overall employment in the United States," warns Barry Bluestone, an economics professor at Boston College. "Companies will have moved more of their production out of this country, and will have begun to automate more rapidly. And those who do find jobs will move disproportionately into lower wage industries, leading to a lower average standard of living and a significant loss in productivity."

"All we are doing is reducing the amount of capital, when what we need is more capital and more equipment," adds Mr. Steigmann of Ford. "If the recession caused the consumer to cut spending, liberating vast amounts of saving which were used for investment, then maybe there would be a case for suggesting that the process would create something useful. But the tendency is for the volume of savings to decline," he said.

Of course, this is not the first time that the economy has experienced cutbacks in the face of a downturn. Business typically lays off workers, closes plants and reduces production to offset plunging sales and profits. And each time, when a recession ends, companies show at least a temporary surge in productivity, because sales tend to pick up faster than the number of workers.

But the productivity gains often tend to be temporary, eroding as production picks up and workers are rehired. The seriousness of this recession has led some executives, like Mr. Devenow, to vow that fat will never again be allowed to creep into their operations. But others, like Richard DeVos, a co-owner of the Amway Corporation, predict that the improvements "will last until good times come again, and then business will get fat and sloppy again."

In the past, companies could look forward to an upsurge in business when recession ended, to a period of good times. But in this cycle there will be no let-up in the pressure on many businesses. For when recovery begins, American companies will still be up against tough foreign competition, companies that, in many cases, are more efficient and more technologically up-to-date than the American companies.

It is thus more critical than ever that companies be in good shape when the recession ends. But many experts are pessimistic about the prospects for American steel, automobiles and other basic industries in the next few years, despite their present efforts to cut back and become more efficient. They say the changes the recession is inducing simply have not gone deep enough, or been extensive enough, to make up for the competitive disadvantages the companies already suffered before the recession started.

"It is easy enough to say that companies are sweating out all their excesses and getting down to good hard muscle," said Bela Gold, director of the research program in industrial economics at Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland. "But it catches our industry at a time when it has neglected international competition. And in a number of cases, such as automobiles and steel, the recession has not provided them with the capital input necessary to modernize."

Mr. Gold acknowledges, for example, that the auto companies have received some labor concessions, and that they have taken some steps to reduce their overhead and to improve operations. But, he says, "I'm not convinced that the industry is over the hump, because technologically their costs are still not competitive with the Japanese. Whether you compare costs per car or output per man-hour, there is still a big gap."

"There is a lot of talk of robotizing the American auto industry, but when you get the numbers, they are not very impressive," Mr. Gold contends. And he calls talk of quality improvement "a lot of chatter." "The auto industry is a very complex production machine, and there is no way you can turn that machine over inside a year," he concludes.

Mr. Gold is even more negative about the prospects for the steel industry, where capacity utilization has been running below 50 percent. "Most of our plants are not technologically competitive," he said. "And to replace those plants takes incredible amounts of money — \$4 billion to \$5 billion just to rebuild a mill. That takes a lot of capital these companies don't have and can't get because of their low profitability."

"The recession has emphasized the need for more far-reaching and fast adjustment," Mr. Gold said. "But it has also created an environment that makes it very difficult to move constructively."

WEEK IN BUSINESS

U.S. Unemployment Reaches 9.8%

Unemployment reached 9.8 percent in July, the highest rate in 41 years and up from the 9.5 percent rate recorded in May and June. Some 10.8 million Americans were officially unemployed last month, about 369,000 more than in June.

Gulf Oil terminated an offer to acquire 41.5 million shares of Cities Service for \$4.8 billion, a decision which left officials at Cities Service astounded. The company said it saw "no reason or basis" for Gulf reneging on the agreement. Gulf told its investment bankers, Morgan Stanley, to return the shares that had been tendered in the \$53-a-share offer.

The Senate approved spending cuts totaling \$12.6 billion over the next three years. Earlier, Budget Director David A. Stockman said big cuts would have to be made in spending for social programs next year if there is to be a long-term economic recovery.

Congressional conservatives led by Representative Jack F. Kemp and several former Reagan advisors rebelled against the Administration's economic policies, pledging to defeat a tax bill that would raise \$98.5 billion in tax revenues over the next three fiscal years.

The Senate approved a Constitutional amendment requiring a balanced budget.

Feldstein to Succeed Weidenbaum

Martin S. Feldstein (right), a 42-year-old professor of economics at Harvard University, was selected as chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors, to replace Murray L. Weidenbaum. Mr. Feldstein, whose appointment must be approved by the Senate, has generally agreed with Administration tax-cut measures. Recently, however, he suggested that the Administration trim the deficit by delaying the 10 percent cut in personal income taxes scheduled for next July 1. President Reagan has strongly opposed such changes. Mr. Weidenbaum has resigned, effective at the end of August, to return to a teaching post at Washington University in St. Louis.



Banco Ambrosiano was ordered into liquidation by Italian authorities, who said an investigation of the bank's affairs showed estimated debts of \$1.4 billion, much of it to Latin America.

The S.E.C. censured Merrill Lynch and several sales representatives for violations of anti-fraud provisions of Federal securities laws and for alleged deficiencies in the firm's options trading operations.

All new cars must have air bags or

automatic seat belts after September 1983, a Federal Appeals court ruled.

The Mexican peso was freed to float by the Government, causing a sharp devaluation, the second in six months.

Four British companies were ordered by their Government not to comply with the Reagan Administration's ban on supplying American technology to the Soviet Union for its proposed natural gas pipeline to Western Europe.

The nation's money supply rose \$900 million in the week ended July 28, after dropping \$800 million the week before, the Federal Reserve said.

New car sales fell 6.8 percent in July, the Big Three auto makers said.

Continental Illinois took the extraordinary step of disclosing its problem loans, hoping to ease fears that it has been irreparably damaged by its involvement with the failed Penn Square Bank.

No patent will be awarded to Stanford University for a key product used in gene splicing, the patent office said. The ruling could dilute the value of the university's previously patented recombinant DNA process.

Two big bank holding companies, the Mellon National Corporation of Pittsburgh and the Girard Company of Philadelphia, agreed to merge, creating the nation's 12th-largest commercial bank.

The foreign trade deficit shrank to \$5.1 billion in the second quarter, the Commerce Department reported.

Ely Lilly suspended sales of Oraflex, an arthritis drug that has been associated with adverse reactions and some deaths.

Kirk Johnson

The New York Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS

WEEK ENDED AUGUST 6, 1982

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
Exxon	4,023,800	26 1/2	+ 1/4
Heublin	3,863,100	57 1/2	+ 1/2
WmCm	3,783,700	38 1/2	- 6 1/2
Tandy	3,570,700	25	- 3 1/2
IBM	3,154,800	63 1/2	- 1 1/2
Conti	2,948,700	15 1/2	- 1/2
AtRich	2,560,600	33 1/2	- 1 1/2
Comd	2,502,300	30	- 7 1/2
ATT	2,035,700	50 1/2	- 1 1/2
Mattel	2,032,500	12 1/2	- 1
FordM	1,963,700	22	- 1/2
LillyEl	1,926,300	46 1/2	- 8 1/2
Schlmb	1,868,900	35 1/2	- 1/2
Citicorp	1,808,300	23 1/2	- 1/2
Mobil	1,760,600	19 1/2	- 1/2

MARKET DIARY

Advances	Declines	Total Issues	New Highs	New Lows
736	1,082	2,105	39	260
447	1,433	2,111	48	232

VOLUME

Total Sales	Last Week	Year To Date
270,761,173	7,900,307,346	7,254,412,734

WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES

High	Low	Last	Change
171.11	67.34	67.34	-2.45

New York Stock Exchange

Indust	Transp	Util	Finance	Composite
71.11	53.28	37.05	62.40	62.72

Standard & Poor's

400 Indust	123.1	115.2	115.6	-4.26
20 Transp	17.3	15.2	15.3	-0.54
40 Util	51.9	50.3	50.6	-0.08
40 Finance	12.3	11.6	11.7	-0.16
500 Stocks	110.0	103.2	103.7	-3.38

Dow Jones

30 Indust	531.4	781.7	784.3	-24.26
20 Transp	318.3	295.9	297.0	-11.69
15 Util	107.1	103.6	104.5	-1.29
65 Comb	320.0	301.3	302.5	-8.01

The American Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS

WEEK ENDED AUGUST 6, 1982

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
DomeP	1,481,200	3 1/2	-1/16
GHCD	541,100	10 1/2	- 1/2
WangB	489,100	26 1/2	- 1 1/2
TubMx	427,800	1 1/2	- 1/2
HouOTr	366,700	11 1/2	+ 1/2
RangRO	343,100	4 1/2	+ 1/2
AmdH	278,200	20	- 1/2
SeisDit	246,200	3 1/2	- 1/2
ChmpH	244,400	2 1/2	- 1/2
BmFB	204,400	32	- 2 1/2

MARKET DIARY

Advances	Declines	Total Issues	New Highs	New Lows
240	504	907	24	126
196	560	902	30	93

VOLUME

Total Sales	Last Week	Year To Date
17,013,020	617,230,405	22,844,560

The New York Times

Founded in 1851

ADOLPH S. OCHS, Publisher 1896-1935
ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, Publisher 1935-1961
ORVILLE DRYFOOS, Publisher 1961-1982

ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER, Publisher
A. M. ROSENTHAL, Executive Editor
SEYMOUR TOWSE, Managing Editor
ARTHUR GELB, Deputy Managing Editor
JAMES L. GREENFIELD, Assistant Managing Editor
LOUIS SILVERSTEIN, Assistant Managing Editor
MAX FRANKEL, Editorial Page Editor
JACK ROSENTHAL, Deputy Editorial Page Editor
CHARLOTTE CURTIS, Associate Editor
TOM WICKER, Associate Editor
JOHN D. POMFRET, Exec. V.P., General Manager
DONALD A. NISSEN, Sr. V.P., Consumer Marketing
LANCE R. FRUMIS, Sr. V.P., Advertising
J.A. RIGGS JR., Sr. V.P., Operations
JOHN M. O'BRIEN, V.P., Controller
ELISE J. ROSS, V.P., Systems

Leaning on Israel

If President Reagan really wanted Israel to stop strangling west Beirut last week, how come he couldn't? Israel is wholly dependent on American military and economic aid. America is just about its only friend and protector against diplomatic and commercial ostracism. However defiant, the Israelis know who butters their bread. Whatever interests drove them to Beirut, none is as vital as the link to the United States. So when Ron insists, why doesn't Menachem listen?

One problem lies in those "Dear Menachem" letters that "Your friend, Ron" kept sending. In Israeli politics, they have been like blank checks, unwitting endorsements of the whole range of Begin policies, from bombing Baghdad to annexing the West Bank. Even if Israelis judge America to be angry now, they think there's a wealth of understanding to be drawn down.

Another problem, paradoxically, is the implication of sudden rage at the White House. Threatening Israel with a loss of aid in mid-war is like waving a bloody shirt. It may even turn defying Uncle into a popular, uplifting demonstration of self-respect.

And finally there was the problem of whether Mr. Reagan's outrage was sincere. Even while threatening Israel, he was reaffirming its demand that the P.L.O. leave Lebanon. How can he make that happen except at the point of Israeli bayonets? He may not want to share responsibility for the dirty work, but does he really want it left undone?

Whether the ugly, costly bombardments of west

Beirut are in fact worth the expulsion of a few thousand defeated P.L.O. guerrillas is a reasonable but different question. Even left in place, they could not for a long time threaten Israel again.

But Mr. Reagan answered that question for himself a month ago: the P.L.O. must leave. It is now the policy of America and the Arab League, as well as Israel, to reclaim Lebanon for moderate Lebanese. And this can be the foundation for a vigorous new diplomacy that would also resolve the future of the Palestinians.

That diplomacy will inevitably owe something to Israel's brutal ways. And it will require prolonged American pressure to alter Israeli and Jordanian policy in the West Bank. For that pressure to be successful, the lessons of the past week have to be well learned.

Diplomatic pressure is not a tool for crises. Nor can pressure be generated only with alternating blandishments and punishments. What's required is a pattern of sustained actions that address the interests, and fears, of the subjects.

To halt Israel's annexation of the West Bank, for example, will require proof that Jordan is now ready to help negotiate a more secure arrangement. Winning Jordan's help will require persuading King Hussein that his throne is at stake. Diplomacy's tools are levers, not sledgehammers. They cannot shatter rocks, but they can move boulders on a carefully plotted course. How can America exert effective pressure? To power, add policy and persuasion.

A Radical View on Insanity

The furor over John Hinckley Jr.'s insanity acquittal has not subsided much, but there is less cause for anxiety. Whether the verdict was right or wrong, doctors are at least clear that Mr. Hinckley is mentally disturbed and dangerous. He won't be released any time soon. His lawyers prudently do not contest his commitment.

Congress must be prudent also, guarding against the tendency to draw the wrong lessons from one bizarre case and abolish the insanity defense. Hearings have exposed quirks in the Hinckley trial and several technical problems, but no evidence that the defense needs drastic overhaul. The Reagan Administration's thinking about insanity is more alarming than the case that provoked it.

Consider the recent testimony of Attorney General Smith in support of a proposal by Senator Orrin Hatch of Utah. Mr. Smith would "effectively eliminate the insanity defense except in those rare cases in which the defendant lacked the state of mind required as an element of the offense. . . . A mental disease or defect would be no defense if a defendant knew he was shooting at a human being to kill him—even if the defendant acted out of an irrational or insane belief. Mental disease or defect would constitute a defense only if the defendant did not even know he had a gun in his hand or thought, for example, that he was shooting at a tree."

It disturbs Mr. Smith that an accused can be acquitted by reason of insanity "if some mental defect caused him to believe that God had ordered the mur-

der because the victim was an agent of the devil interfering with God's work."

Mr. Smith's ideas would take society back not merely before Freud, but before 1843. That was when the British House of Lords, in the case of Daniel M'Naghten, announced an insanity test based principally on the defendant's ability to know he was doing wrong. As an article in the Times Magazine today makes clear, that test was subject to criticism based even on 19th century knowledge of the mind's workings. Compared with the Smith-Hatch proposal, the old test is progressive and humane.

The hearings confirmed suspicions that the jurors were confused. They may not have fully realized they were free to ignore the experts or to select the most credible medical testimony. Two changes, far short of abolishing the defense, might well have produced a different verdict. One would require the defendant to prove insanity rather than make the prosecution disprove it. The other would forbid psychiatrists to give ultimate conclusions about a defendant's sanity, usurping the jury's function.

The insanity defense does not undermine the moral basis of criminal law, as critics claim. Our criminal code is founded on the idea of rational choices made by individuals free to do good or evil. Civilization recognizes an exception for those whose mental condition renders them unable to control their actions. To find them as guilty as the sane and competent is the truly radical, morally unacceptable judgment.

To Send a Child

Many of the youngsters are frightened by dogs because at home, dogs are vicious. Or they think all insects exist only to be exterminated. Swimming means splashing, feet safely planted on the bottom.

Such are the views of life the city's poor youngsters bring to host families in 320 Friendly Towns that volunteer their services to the Fresh Air Fund. Some 12,000 boys and girls have already left steaming New York for vacations in small towns from Maine to Virginia. They have learned that a dog can be a friend, that not all insects are for killing and that a cool lake is better than hydrant spray.

The Fresh Air Fund has provided such experiences for city youngsters since 1877, but this year it was worried. Would the recession reduce the total of

host families? Would the number of children have to be cut? Fortunately, the spirit of sharing thrives. Participating Friendly Town families have increased by 5 percent. The 12,000 youngsters sent on Fresh Air vacations to host families or to the fund's summer camp in Fishkill, N. Y. are almost a thousand more than last year.

Another 2,000 youngsters await their turn, and the fund remains 10 percent short of covering the costs of their vacations. The program continues to August 28. An \$80 contribution will directly affect the life of a city child. Tax deductible contributions, and inquiries about becoming a host family, should be sent to The Fresh Air Fund, 70 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y. 10018.

Topics

Cold and Mold Warriors

Off the Beach

Glen Cove, this summer's diplomatic Fort Sumter, seems ready to fight the Union to the last child of American diplomats in Russia. Mayor Alan Parente will not relent on beach rights for the Russians on Long Island; he is unimpressed by the hardship their retaliation causes Americans looking to swim in the Moskva River.

The Soviet reprisal, His Honor has decided, is not "endangering the welfare of our diplomats." Therefore, no Soviet diplomats on Glen Cove's beaches, golf course or tennis courts until they stop "spying" and until Washington pays the property taxes from which they are exempt.

What endangerments would impress the mayor? Recreation for Americans in Moscow is not exactly abundant. Would he relent if the kids were stopped from playing soccer in their asphalt courtyard? If they were

barred from Soviet ice cream parlors? If the electricity failed during movies at embassy parties?

Cave Blob

Science has met the Blob. A biologist from Princeton, David Waddell, is the intrepid discoverer. By discoverer's right, he has named it *Dicostelium caveatum*, meaning cave-dweller but doubtless intending cave-avoider.

Mr. Waddell's blob is by nature a slime mold. It lives in utter darkness, in 100 percent humidity, in a cavern in Arkansas. It grazes on bat excrement, delicately referred to as "bat guano" in this week's Nature. The new species is distinguished among slime molds because of its bizarre, body-snatching mode of predation.

Slime molds, as every science fiction reader appreciates, generally flow along in a shapeless mass that

engulfs any living object in its path. The *Dicostelium* molds, having more style, move in the form of a "slug" that periodically metamorphoses into a spore-forming cup. The slug is not the single organism it seems to be but a coalition of amoebas operating under federal rule.

The Arkansas slime mold dispatches constituent amoebas to infiltrate the slug of a prey species as it dines on the bacteria that grow on the bat guano. Once inside, these Trojan horses of the myxomycete world excrete a poison that halts the host amoebas at the point of their collective switch from slug to cup.

The predator amoebas multiply and eat up their hosts; cell by cell, the slug changes from prey species to predator. It's as if, being infected by the cell of another person, you were gradually to become him. The life of man may be poor, nasty, brutish and short, but it holds no horror like the Blob of Blanchard Springs Cavern in Arkansas.

Letters

Middle East: The World's Belated Outrage

To the Editor:

In his July 24 Op-Ed article, "Beirut's Smell of Death," Kevin M. Cahill vividly describes the horrors of war and wonders about the harvest of hatred. As a Christian supporter of Israel, I share his horror at the sight of maimed bodies and uprooted lives. But I also detect a good deal of hypocrisy in much of the weeping and wailing that is going on right now.

Many of us have warned for years that the winds were being sown and that the whirlwinds would eventually have to be reaped. Some of the people who now scream the loudest were silent then.

For decades, Israeli peace overtures were met with an Arab trinity of negatives: no recognition, no negotiation, no reconciliation. Some of the most ominous threats against the Jewish state were brushed aside by many people, including associates of mine in the Christian bureaucracy, as "mere rhetoric," and Jewish concerns were attributed to an understandable but exaggerated "Holocaust complex."

The coldblooded murders of civilians, athletes and air travelers by terrorists in order to "call attention to the plight of the Palestinian people" were described as acts that should not

be condoned but that were understandable in light of Arab frustrations. Rarely were we treated to the detailed descriptions of torn limbs and



shattered bodies in the accounts of those atrocities.

The Arab states, despite their immense wealth, have let Palestinians rot away in camps precisely because those camps served as schools of hatred where children were indoctrinated in the tenets of the P.L.O. covenant. The world stood by and pre-

ferred not to think too much about the whirlwinds of misery that all this hatred would eventually produce, not least for those who were trained to be haters.

I very much want to believe that the unholy trinity of negatives will be replaced by a policy of recognition, negotiation and reconciliation. But I don't blame the Israelis if they want to see much clearer evidence of a real change of heart before they risk their very survival. It seems to me that the Palestinian problem, including the problem of resolving it, must be seen in the wider context of the inability of most of the Arab world to reconcile itself to any Israeli presence in the Middle East.

Millions of Christians will continue to support Israel, not because they are insensitive to suffering or wish to glorify Israeli military exploits, but because they honestly believe that the harvest of hatred could one day again mean a threat to the survival of the Jewish people. They may have their disagreements with Prime Minister Begin, but they identify with him when he says, "Never again."

ISAAC C. ROTTENBERG
Executive Director, National Christian Leadership Conference for Israel
New York, July 26, 1982

'Empty Arguments' Over El Salvador

To the Editor:

In his July 29 Op-Ed article, Elliott Abrams, Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, brings up some of the same old empty arguments that we have heard before and claims that the right questions are not being asked with regard to human rights in El Salvador.

With regard to the empty arguments, once again we hear about arms and funds coming from Cuba, Nicaragua and the Soviet Union to help fuel the war in El Salvador. In spite of having been embarrassed by José Orlando Tardencillas, and not being able to offer any proof whatsoever, the State Department seems to think that if you keep repeating the same myth long enough it will stick in people's brains—particularly if they do not have other sources of information.

The second empty argument that is continually repeated is that there is no popular support for what Mr. Abrams calls the "guerrillas," but which, more objectively, should be called the opposition forces. He once again, like Mr. Reagan, brags about the free election that was held and claims that a legitimate government is in power. Obviously the turnout on election day in El Salvador was impressive. The people obviously want peace. But when a whole sector of the political spectrum in El Salvador was not allowed to take part in the elections, what do they really signify?

One remembers that Bishop Muzorewa was elected in Zimbabwe at a time when Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo were not allowed to run for office: he got 63 percent of the vote. Less than two years later, when those two were allowed to run, Mr. Mugabe won the election and Bishop Muzorewa went down to 8 percent of the voting.

Enough of empty arguments! I do agree with Mr. Abrams that the right questions are not being asked with regard to U.S. involvement in El

Salvador and the human-rights situation there. The key question to be asked is, Why does the Reagan Administration continue to ignore the opportunity for a negotiated settlement which the opposition forces have expressed a desire to take part in without any previous conditions?

Mexico and France support these negotiations. Why does the U.S. refuse to have anything to do with it, and refuse to allow it even to be discussed? For the same reasons that it refuses to negotiate with Nicaragua?

The people of the United States must do all in their power to see that our Government does not let its macho-military mentality completely eliminate the blessed capacity for diplomacy from our foreign policy options.

(Rev.) DANIEL DRISCOLL
Director, Justice and Peace Office
Maryknoll Fathers & Brothers
Maryknoll, N.Y., Aug. 2, 1982

To the Editor:

Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights Elliott Abrams says, "The refugee problem in Central America grows, and victories by guerrilla forces in several countries could produce a wave of 'boat people' for whom we would be a distant bene-

factor." Mr. Abrams is right about the growth of the refugee problem. More than half a million people have fled El Salvador alone, and at least 300,000 have been displaced within their own country. Many of those who have fled are already in the United States.

It is not the guerrillas who have driven these people from their homes, however. Rather, the great majority are fleeing the armed forces of the Government of El Salvador, for which Mr. Abrams seeks more aid.

ARYEH NEIER
Vice Chairman, Americas Watch
New York, July 29, 1982

The \$100 Billion Congressional Fig Leaf

To the Editor:

One year ago, Congress passed the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981, in our view one of the greatest legislative achievements to come out of Washington in decades.

Today, even though the bulk of it has yet to take effect, this tax package is condemned for causing every economic ill under the sun. Chief among the charges is that the bill amounted to a massive "raid" on the U.S. Treasury and thus is to blame for big deficits, high interest rates and the continuing economic slump.

As a result, Congress now appears inclined to dismantle many of the tax incentives passed last year for individuals, savers and businesses by enacting the largest peacetime tax increase in history.

Let's put this fantasy to rest once and for all: Last year's tax bill has nothing to do with our deficit problem today—nothing whatsoever. Tax collections in fiscal 1982, recession and all, are running 5.6 percent ahead of last year's, exceeding the 4 percent inflation rate during the same period.

Let me say it again: Uncle Sam is collecting more revenue than it ever has, in both nominal and real terms. The frequent talk of last year's "raid on the Treasury" is pure nonsense.

We face the prospect of high deficits because Federal spending is still increasing faster than taxes—at a pace of 10.3 percent in fiscal 1982, more than double the rate of inflation.

Viewing both these trends exposes the current tax-increase effort for what it is: Members of both sides of the aisle want a \$100 billion tax increase fig leaf to cover up their own dismal failure to control Federal spending.

The U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the nation's largest federation of busi-

nesses, chambers and associations, believes that Congress and the Administration should not be let off the hook from doing the job they were elected to do in 1980: to cut the growth of Federal spending.

RICHARD L. BREAU
Group Vice President, Policy
Chamber of Commerce of the U.S.
Washington, Aug. 3, 1982

Conservative Estimate

To the Editor:

Friends tell me the galloping conservatism of my old age indicates an ungenerous spirit. I try to fight it. The Times does not help.

Your Aug. 1 Week in Review reveals that the New York City Transit Authority has committed \$23,154,000 to outfit 1,362 buses with (mostly non-functional) lifts for handicapped persons, in compliance with Federal regulations.

An ungenerous "authority official" insisted that only two of the two million daily bus riders relied on them. However, Denise Figueroa, associate advocate for the Eastern Paralyzed Veterans Association, "said there were at least 10 such passengers."

Bless Miss Figueroa for putting the lie to his canard! The thought of investing \$11,577,000 per handicapped rider strains my pinched soul, but none can cavil at spending only \$2,315,400 each.

E. L. PATULLO
Winchester, Mass., Aug. 2, 1982

A Soldier's Reward In College Funds

To the Editor:

"College: New Way to Pay," John V. Lindsay's July 27 Op-Ed article, was a thought-provoking look at possible future answers to the present problems of financing a higher education. And much has been written of late about the growing "education gap" in America—that soon only the rich or super-rich will have the wherewithal to send their children to college.

Still, in the search for college funds an important and highly viable alternative has been overlooked, an alternative that is immediately available to high-school graduates.

It is called the Army College Fund, and it carries on in the great tradition of the Army, which has historically provided for the education and self-improvement of its soldiers.

The Army College Fund is a program that offers high-school graduates over \$15,000 for their college education in return for only two years of active duty in the Army. A three-year enlistment will earn an individual over \$30,000 for college.

These amounts are in addition to the normal benefits that accrue with service in the Army, bringing the total cash value of an Army enlistment to over \$45,000 for two years and to over \$65,000 for three years. It should be noted that the Army is the only service that offers a two-year enlistment and these impressive educational incentives.

Additionally, many soldiers currently on active duty are pursuing associate baccalaureate and advanced degrees through the Army Tuition Assistance Program (T.A.P.). The Army pays 75 to 90 percent of their tuition.

The Army College Fund is not a program that is just on the drawing board: it has been in effect since last October. That it has not received the publicity or recognition it deserves is perhaps due to the many negative factors with which the Army has been associated by our society (the draft, Vietnam, drug problems, racism, etc.).

But the time is here for society to realize that the Army can provide an important step in the maturation and development of America's youth and concurrently provide good training in many civilian-equivalent skills.

And it can provide young people with a very substantial amount of money for their higher education.

Mr. Lindsay asks that we "enable young men and women to invest in themselves." The Army offers a great opportunity for them to do just that.

(Capt.) WILLIAM F. REYNOLDS
Bronx, July 28, 1982

The writer is with the Army Recruiting Command.


Doomed Tuition Credit

To the Editor:

I quite agree with your July 3 editorial "Tuition Credits Are Not Bona Fide" for two additional reasons.

First, it is inappropriate for us to embark on a new billion-dollar program at a time when budgetary constraints have forced us to trim Federal support of public education programs of longstanding public commitment. Second, most eminent legal scholars concur that such tax credits are unconstitutional. It would be unfair and misleading for Congress to enact such a proposal, knowing that the Supreme Court would strike it down.

CHARLES H. PERCY
U.S. Senator from Illinois
Washington, July 22, 1982



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WASHINGTON — Any Democrat who in the middle of a national Republican landslide can carry the heartland state of Ohio by 1.6 million votes must be Presidential timber.

If he also happens to be a well-known hero, the first American to orbit the earth, you might think he'd even be the front-runner.

But Senator John Glenn, the former astronaut who won re-election in 1980 by that remarkable 1.6 million votes, trails both Edward Kennedy and Walter Mondale in current opinion polls.

Don't pay too much attention to that. It's a year and a half until the Democrats start to vote; Senator Kennedy and Mr. Mondale are ahead at this stage mostly because they're familiar faces in national politics, each with a following from earlier battles. As Edward Kennedy learned in 1980, that kind of lead doesn't necessarily hold up when the polls open.

By any orthodox political judgment, the next best shot in 1984 belongs to John Glenn — a combat veteran of two

wars, a vote-getting national hero, a two-term middle-of-the-road senator from a major state the Democrats badly need to win if they are to return to power.

The common knock on him is that he is less than a riveting speaker — failing, for example, to turn on the delegates at the 1976 Democratic national convention or the mini-convention this year in Philadelphia. But don't pay too much attention to that either.

Modern elections aren't always won by polished orators — Ronald Reagan being a recent exception. Coming across impressively on television, not necessarily a matter of eloquence, is more important. So, in a multi-candidate primary, is getting your supporters to the polls. So is having something real to say and saying it believably.

That last could be John Glenn's secret weapon. He's a believable man, and he has an important theme that he's superbly fitted to express, to which he brings impressive intensity.

IN THE NATION

No Parades Needed

By Tom Wicker

The nation, he says, is losing its historic lead in basic research and technological development and risks falling into general decline as a result; but President Reagan, so far from reversing the trend, is speeding it disastrously with budget cuts and over-reliance on private investment.

"Publicly supported and privately developed research, along with the technology necessary to exploit the fruits of that research," Senator Glenn said in a recent speech, was the fundamental reason the United States became the strongest, wealthiest and most productive nation in the history of the world.

But since 1965, he pointed out, the proportion of gross national product devoted to research and development in this country has dropped more than 20 percent — while that figure rose in the Soviet Union by 21, in Japan by 27 and in West Germany by 41 percent. Last year, American colleges granted 58,000 engineering degrees; Japan graduated 74,000 and the Soviet Union 300,000 engineers.

Yet the Reagan Administration has cut education funding, slashed energy research and the space program and produced what Senator Glenn calls a situation "approaching disaster" at the federally funded national labora-

tories. He is impassioned even in private about this "retreat from the frontiers."

"When we cut off inquiry into the unknown," he said in a recent interview, "we're eating our seed corn. It doesn't make any sense. But if you give Americans the proper tools, they can outproduce and outcompete anybody, head and shoulders."

He has a program to do it, and that kind of theme usually appeals to Americans — John Kennedy, for example, crying "let's get this country moving again!" or Ronald Reagan pledging to lead the nation back to the military pre-eminence he said it had lost. Americans want to be "No. 1" in the world as on the gridiron.

John Glenn's appeal to this football-fan mentality makes good sense economically as well as politically. And who better to make the case for being No. 1 again in research and technology than a product of the space program, with its impressive spin-offs in microelectronics?

The Senator says he hasn't fully decided to run but, again, don't pay too much attention to that. He'll soon be forming a political action committee to raise funds — so far he's been running on "left-over money" from 1979 — and he doesn't need a map anymore to find his way around Iowa and New Hampshire.

He's also been on the overseas campaign trail: he visited Israel earlier this year and talks knowledgeably about the crisis in Lebanon. He'd vote for SALT II now, since he says the verification problems that worried him in 1979 have been overcome; and he's a strong advocate of building up conventional military strength to avoid reliance on nuclear weapons.

As any politician would, he'll assure you that the only reason he might run for President is that the country needs "a change of direction." But John Glenn is more believable than most, because as he puts it in the voice of a man who's already been there: "I don't need ticker-tape parades."

WASHINGTON — In Hollywood-on-the-Potomac, where the policy pronouncements of one week are the discarded scripts of the next, the Soviet natural-gas pipeline controversy is now described as in its "damage control" phase. According to the White House, European leaders are anxious to patch up "family differences."

To patch up is one thing, to compromise another. President Reagan's embargo of June 18 on sales of equipment for the pipeline by European subsidiaries and licensees of United States firms so blatantly violates international law, and is potentially so destructive to the economies of our principal allies, that the political leaders of Britain, West Germany, France and Italy have each publicly gone on record to the effect that, come what may, the pipeline contracts are going forward. Damage control is indeed under way, but only in the sense of European diplomatic moves to avert economic retaliation against the companies concerned.

At the heart of the legal issue is national sovereignty. The Europeans view the embargo as the latest effort of the United States to extend its ex-

traterritorial jurisdiction over corporations of other countries. These efforts — principally in the antitrust, shipping and regulatory fields — have a lengthy history and except when met with voluntary compliance an equally lengthy record of failure.

Britain is one of a dozen trading partners that over the years have taken protective legal steps to prohibit domestic companies from complying with foreign regulations or court orders. France once actually authorized the temporary takeover of the French subsidiary of a United States firm to force fulfillment of a contract barred under our Trading with the Enemy Act. These same

The Pipeline Embargo: Reagan's Off Base...

By Charles Maechling Jr.

kinds of measures are now being invoked in the pipeline case.

Legally, overseas subsidiaries and licensees targeted by the embargo are foreign companies, regardless of ownership and dependence on United States technology, and as such are ex-

clusively subject to foreign law. The United States Supreme Court takes the same view. While asserting that the United States can control its own citizens, wherever situated, and can even regulate foreigners' activities abroad that have a substantial economic impact within United States territory, it never has sanctioned control over foreigners solely to serve a United States national purpose. Only recently, in a reverse situation, the Court ruled that the American subsidiary of a Japanese company is exclusively subject to United States law.

Moreover, the effect of the embargo is retroactive and violates a long-

standing pattern of collaboration with allies regarding the exporting of strategic materials and technology. President Reagan's breach was aggravated by his failure to give prior notification, let alone to consult. He downgraded the pipeline issue to the point of not raising it at the Versailles summit meeting with European leaders in June, and then sprang it as a major foreign policy stroke on his return to Washington.

Significant segments of European industry are threatened. The John Brown Group of Scotland has 1,700 workers in the depressed Clydebank area dependent on orders for 21 turbines. A.E.G.-Telefunken of West Germany, virtually insolvent, desperately needs its order for 47 turbines. Nuovo Pignone of Italy is relying on its large order, as are Alsthom-Atlantique and Creusot of France. The basic contracts were signed many months ago. By this time a vast network of second- and third-tier subcontractors and suppliers also have binding commitments. Orders totaling \$10 billion are at stake.

The embargo has incensed our allies without making a dent in the Soviet economy or affecting the quite-unrelated situation in Poland. Threats to prosecute American parent companies for violating the embargo are pure bluff. Their licensees never agreed to honor embargoes that were

nonexistent at the time of execution of the license agreements, and no conviction would stand up in the face of bona fide pleas of *force majeure* based on valid decrees by foreign governments.

The one certain consequence of this act of political folly will be to divide the alliance by striking our partners at their points of maximum economic vulnerability. It may even stimulate Soviet production of the turbines themselves, which have been on the market for 10 years. For the Administration to plead sanctity of contract in the case of grain exports and reject it in the far more complex case of the pipeline contracts is rank hypocrisy. If damage control is the new watchword, the embargo should be lifted forthwith.

Charles Maechling Jr., an international lawyer, is a resident scholar at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He served in the State Department during the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations and was professor of international law at the University of Virginia from 1974 to 1976.



... No, the Act Is Right, The Pitch Is Wrong

By Robert W. Tucker

WASHINGTON — Confusion persists over the simple yet compelling interest at stake in the projected West European-Siberian natural-gas pipeline. Unfortunately, the Reagan Administration has helped perpetuate rather than dispel the confusion by shifting from one reason to another in explaining its opposition to the pipeline.

The critical reason for opposing the pipeline is that it would substantially improve the Soviet Union's prospects for earning hard currency; in turn, these improved prospects would facilitate the Soviet arms effort. Our interest is to hamper that effort, which brings renewed pressure on Western Europe and the alliance.

Why obscure this clear and vital interest by invoking considerations of dubious merit or of secondary importance?

Poland falls within the category of dubious merit. Suppose the Government in Warsaw were to relax military rule, as indeed it seems to be doing. Would this alter the prospects held out by the

pipeline? If not, why mortgage our position to the relaxation of military rule? By making Poland the cause of our opposition, while at the same time continuing our grain trade with the Soviet Union, we further confuse and weaken the case that can and should be made against the pipeline.

So, too, why emphasize the secondary consideration of Western Europe's resulting dependency on Soviet gas? It may turn out that the balance of interest and even of dependency will favor Western Europe. Certainly, the Soviet Union stands to benefit more from the deal. These calculations, however drawn, ought not affect our interest in denying Moscow, where possible, the means to augment its military power.

The pipeline has been opposed because it involves a considerable credit subsidy to the Soviet Union. Suppose, though, that no subsidies were involved and that the pipeline came within the bounds of a normal commercial transaction. Would this render it harmless to interest? Clearly, the pipeline would

then be much less objectionable than it is; a normal commercial transaction would not represent "aid" to the Soviet economy in the manner of this transaction and would not have the profoundly disturbing political implications the present deal has. Still, our interest would — or should — lead us to oppose it. The financial circumstances of this particular deal are very objectionable. It is a bad icing on a bad cake. But the icing ought not be mistaken for the cake.

The Administration apparently is sensitive to the charge that in opposing the pipeline it is waging economic warfare against the Soviet Union. The charge, coming from the West Europeans, is designed to deflect attention from the terms of the arrangement they have entered into — terms that

can be understood only in the larger framework of a policy intent on appeasing the Soviet Union. Even so, the Administration's sensitivity is significant, for it is a concession to the prevailing view that a policy of economic warfare is excessive. It is excessive, however, only if one assumes either that the Soviet Union can be dissuaded from its continuing arms buildup by other and presumably less excessive means or that even if it cannot, its arms have no adverse implications for Western interests. Neither assumption is supported by experience. Why, then, the reluctance to acknowledge that opposition to the pipeline represents, at bottom, a policy of economic warfare, not to be waged forever but until such time as Moscow relents in its present course?

Economic sanctions cannot effect a fundamental change in the conduct of countries, particularly great and largely self-sufficient countries. They should not be viewed as a soft option for more difficult and hazardous courses of action. Yet even if the Soviet arms buildup were to be made only marginally more difficult by abandoning the present pipeline project, why is a policy condemned that tries to accomplish this result?

The answer, of course, is the price that Washington may well have to pay in alliance unity by persisting in its opposition. The critical issue, opponents urge, is not the abstract merit of our position but, rather, the wisdom of attempting to impose it on resistant allies. Why run risks that are disproportionate to any gains we are likely to enjoy? Why not, instead, concede the issue of the pipeline by lifting the present ban on key components in exchange for allied commitments to refrain from similar deals in the future?

This argument has prevailed in the past. Despite the Administration's recent move to delay the pipeline, it is likely to prevail again. Moreover, there is a good deal to be said for it.

The price for persisting in the ban may prove exorbitant.

At the same time, the implications and logic of the argument should not be obscured. The West European version of détente, of which the pipeline is a prime manifestation, now constitutes a limiting condition of the alliance. It is America that henceforth must adjust to this condition or incur the onus of endangering allied unity. Where this logic will ultimately lead us must remain a matter of speculation. But it requires an act of great faith to believe that out of an Administration defeat on the pipeline will come a new unity and a strengthened alliance.

Robert W. Tucker is professor of international relations at The Johns Hopkins University.



WASHINGTON — This week marked the fifth anniversary of the Federal Surface Mining Act — the Federal statute that regulates the strip-mining of coal. For those who fought so long to pass and enforce the law, it was a painful anniversary.

The Surface Mining Act, which was enacted after decades of abuse in the coal fields and more than nine years of debate in Congress, is now in the hands of James G. Watt, a Secretary of the Interior who shares neither its goals nor its methods and who previously fought to have major portions of the act declared unconstitutional. Having failed in that effort, Mr. Watt is proceeding to dismantle the act through an unprecedented series of 50 legal proceedings.

Like a skilled magician, Mr. Watt is drawing public attention to a few highly inflammatory issues while deftly making numerous forms of environmental protection disappear under the cover of hundreds of pages of legal jargon. Buried in more than 450 pages of notices issued by his department are hundreds of proposals to weaken the existing surface-mining rules.

A basic premise of the law is that certain lands simply should not be mined. This generally prohibits mining in national forests, national wildlife refuges, public parks, sites listed in the National Register of Historic Places, and areas within 100 feet of roads and cemeteries or within 300 feet of parks, houses, schools, churches and community buildings. Exceptions to this rule were made by Congress for miners who had a "valid existing right" to mine these specially protected lands on the date that the law was passed. By the simple act of changing the definition of "valid existing rights," Mr. Watt has proposed to

Mining The Law

By Norman L. Dean

open up about 1.2 million acres of the country's national forests and wildlife refuges to strip mining.

The Secretary is proposing other changes in definitions that would allow mining next to many vacation homes, on certain privately owned lands that have been given the status of public parks and on privately owned lands that are listed in the National Register of Historic Places. In a particularly insensitive proposal, Mr. Watt has redefined "cemetery" so that mining will be permitted in family burial plots.

Mr. Watt is also determined to replace many of the existing specific criteria for designing mine equipment or facilities with much more general and weaker "performance" standards. Responsibility for compliance with many of the new standards would be assigned to certified professional engineers selected and paid by mining companies. It does not take an expert in regulation or human nature to predict that those engineers will be beholden not to the public interest but, rather, to the companies that butter their bread.

Mr. Watt also wants to delete from the existing strip-mining rules some of the most important standards. For example, he would delete specific requirements to protect the migratory routes of wildlife, to protect eagles and other birds from electrocution on

power lines and to protect wildlife from toxic-waste ponds. Major loopholes would be provided in the requirement that coal miners restore the land to its approximate original contour after mining. Existing restrictions on the use of persistent pesticides by miners would be lifted. Explosives could be used at night and within 1,000 feet of homes and public buildings. Individuals would be permitted to explore for coal under certain circumstances without first informing the Government. The list goes on and on.

The public's right to participate in the control of strip-mining would also fall victim under the Watt proposals. Hunters, fishermen, hikers and others who use but don't own environmentally sensitive lands would lose their existing right to petition to have them declared unsuitable for strip-mining.

Why weaken all these environmental protections?

Secretary Watt says the existing regulations are simply too costly and burdensome for coal companies. Yet, the Department of Energy recently analyzed cost impacts of the proposed changes in rules and found that, for the most part, the potential cost saving to individual mining companies would be less than 5 cents per ton of coal.

On the fifth anniversary of the passage of the strip-mine law, the nation should be celebrating the end of the shameful abuse that scarred some of its most beautiful land. Instead, we are possessed of a Secretary of the Interior who is willing and apparently able to turn back the clock to an era when we needlessly ravaged our land.

Norman L. Dean is a staff lawyer of the National Wildlife Federation.

In a recent story describing a gathering of nearly 6,000 "counterculture advocates" and "holover hippies" in rural Idaho, a newspaper quoted a woman who identified herself only as Grace. The woman said she had brought her 8-year-old daughter "so that, when she is old enough to choose her own life style, she can decide by herself whether she wants to be a human being or a banker."

I was badly shaken by Grace's remarks. It never occurred to me that any of the other employees at the bank where I work were not authentic Homo sapiens. They certainly seemed to be possessed of all the ordinary human characteristics and foibles. True, there is an officer in the trust department about whom I have my doubts, and I once heard an extremely successful executive referred to as a "money machine." But I never seriously questioned that most of the bankers for whom I write press releases and earnings reports were anything but human.

Yet my suspicions were aroused and I was having trouble quieting them. Perhaps I was getting panicky, but my mind leaped to those incredibly lifelike robots known as "replicants" in the film "Blade Runner." Could Grace be on to something? How could I find out? In the movie, Harrison Ford determines whether something is a replicant by gauging its reactions to questions designed to elicit normal human emotions. I didn't think our vice chairman would like it much if I quizzed him on his feelings about his mother, so that was out.

That day at work, however, I was on the alert for clues. In the elevator, I overheard two bankers nonchalantly discussing a syndicated loan for several billion dollars. I wondered if real

Are Bankers Humans?

By George Fasel

human beings could talk so casually about manipulating such enormous sums of money. Now that I was listening closely, I couldn't help but notice that bankers had a peculiar way of speaking. After all, they do say "demand deposit" instead of "checking account" and they use words like "disintermediation" and "liquidity" and "interest sensitivity" — all of which sounds a lot like programmed language rather than plain English.

I was starting to get scared. The idea that bankers were a group of ingeniously constructed androids was gaining on me. Who controlled these remarkably convincing machines? My paranoia was in high gear and I began speculating wildly on the demonic force behind these cunning automatons. Was it Auric Goldfinger? The invisible hand?

I went back to the news story to see if there were any leads I might have missed, and as I reread the quotation it finally hit me. Grace hadn't meant that bankers were different from human beings in a biological sense. She was making a moral distinction. I felt a lot better when I understood that. It isn't just that Grace has seen too many movies in which bankers

were played by someone like Edward Arnold. Although she's probably the sort of person who wouldn't laugh at the joke about the banker with the glass eye who enjoyed having people guess which eye was real — smiling when they chose the glass one because it had a glint of humanity — there's more to it than that.

I expect Grace finds bankers calculating, which would actually be very perceptive of her. Careful calculations must be made in order to assess risk, and risk is what banking is all about. Still, I don't think Grace finds that a useful skill. She almost certainly objects to loaning money at interest, even though credit may help create jobs, desirable new products and other agreeable effects. Indeed, the more I thought about it, I decided that Grace might be one of those persons who was skeptical about the Industrial Revolution, unimpressed by a complex global economy, and thought an honest and reasonable profit was a contradiction in terms. It's also evident that if you don't line up with Grace on these matters, she regards you as less than human.

Grace is an interesting person, but I find myself thinking more about her 8-year-old daughter. The way the war between the generations often goes, I wouldn't really be surprised to see her — let's say 15 years from now — with an M.B.A. in finance and appraising lucrative offers from several banks. I'm only concerned that she will truly have the freedom to make her own choice and "decide by herself." *Chacun à son goût, Grace, but don't stack the deck against the kid.*

George Fasel is an assistant vice president of the Bankers Trust Company.

Arts & Leisure

Will 'Johnny' Finally Have His Day?

By RING LARDNER JR.

Dalton Trumbo, author of 55 produced screenplays, four novels and a play, was also a brilliant pamphleteer and a superb letter writer. Besides these achievements, he demolished the Hollywood blacklist, almost single-handedly and became, in his own words, "the oldest, new director in the history of the movies." If his name endures, however, it will be for "Johnny Got His Gun," the antiwar novel he wrote in his 30's (and the century's).

Because it all takes place in the mind of a single character, the book doesn't lend itself readily to stage adaptation, but now in the fifth decade after publication, the job has been performed by Bradley Rand Smith. His dramatization will open Tuesday at the Circle Repertory Company with a one-man cast consisting of Jeff Daniels, who created the role of Jed Jenkins in "The Fifth of July."

The idea for "Johnny Got His Gun" came from a newspaper story Trumbo had once read about the Prince of Wales (later Edward VIII.) and the Duke of Windsor visiting, in a closed room in a Canadian hospital, a World War I soldier who had lost all his limbs and all his senses except touch. Trumbo began the book in 1937 and finished it the following year despite his simultaneous commitment to a number of movie projects.

In order to accomplish this, he and Cleo, his wife-to-be, put a borrowed \$750 down on a ranch 25 miles by third-class road from a hamlet called Lebec at the crest of the "ridge route" to Redlands and San Francisco. Its main attractions were its remoteness from Hollywood and its resemblance to Trumbo's native terrain in Colorado. They installed an electric power plant but never a telephone. Rather than an economy measure (to which Dalton was not given), the omission was a deliberate device to frustrate anxious producers, persistent creditors and other forms of outside interference.

Ring Lardner Jr. is a writer of films and fiction.

Jeff Daniels stars in "Johnny Got His Gun," a dramatization by Bradley Rand Smith of the 1939 novel by Dalton Trumbo, right. Tuesday at Circle Repertory Company.



Trumbo's antiwar novel won critical acclaim but failed commercially.

Bruce McMillan

Into the recollections of Joe Bonham, paraplegic hero of "Johnny Got His Gun," Trumbo poured his own youth in Colorado and Los Angeles, where after his father's death he worked eight years in a bakery to support his mother and two younger sisters before he was able to establish himself as a writer.

Saluted by most critics and winner of the National Book Award for 1939 but never a big commercial success because of its grim content, "Johnny" had and still has a far stronger impact on its readers than a shelf-full of best sellers, and its reputation has grown ever since. It is a remarkable affirmation of the novel's power that all the accumulated horrors of Nanking, Dresden, Hiroshima, Nagasaki, My Lai and Pol Pot's Cambodia have not diminished the effect of this story of a single American youth maimed in World War I.

The man who wrote it went on to become one of the most successful and highly paid screenwriters of the 1940's and then, after a hiatus of 13 years, of the 1960's and early 70's. My friendship with him began before he started work on "Johnny" and it was fortified by our common experience as Federal

prison inmates in 1950-51 for the crime of contempt of Congress.

Because the blacklist, which began before our incarceration and continued for a decade after it, was such a serious matter for us involved (hundreds of people joined us as victims of it), it was hard to share Trumbo's insight that it was also an absurdity. From that insight came the corollary that the weapon to attack it with was ridicule — to make the absurdity apparent to everyone.

Trumbo, happily for the time and circumstances, had a beautifully attuned sense of the ridiculous, and he had so undermined the whole institution of the blacklist that it toppled when Otto Preminger boldly announced in 1960 that his picture "Exodus" would bear the once-familiar credit, "Screenplay by Dalton Trumbo."

Dalton was an exuberant man with enormous vitality, strong opinions and no hesitation about expressing them. No one I have known could more aptly be described by the word "fascinating," but a word of almost opposite meaning — "abrasive" — belongs in the description, too. So do a good many other adjectives, including wise, funny, greedy, generous, vain,

solicitous, ruthless, tender-hearted, devious, contentious, altruistic, rational, impulsive, prophetic, shortsighted, marvelously articulate and absolutely indefatigable.

I was especially intrigued by the combination of driving ambition and acquisitiveness with a deep-seated and quintessentially American radicalism. He was a pacifist in those prewar years, and I was not, but otherwise we were in pretty solid agreement about what was right and wrong with the country and the world. While denouncing capitalism and all its manifestations, however, he couldn't resist the impulse to take one more

work than even his facile talent could handle, and then entrap himself further by buying a car or a house or a painting that he couldn't afford yet. It was not easy, but he managed to overextend himself even when he was making \$75,000 a script in the 1940's and turning them out faster than anyone in the business except Ben Hecht.

Very late one night he walked me to my car outside one of those acquisitions — a porticoed Confederate plantation house in Beverly Hills. With a broad gesture that encompassed every other householder on the street, he said: "They're living only 18 hours a day and I'm living 20. So, if I die when I'm 60 and they live on into their 70's, I'm still ahead of them."

Well, he made it to 70 himself, against all reasonable expectation, but I think his figures were off anyway. He lived at least three normal lives — a sheer outpouring of energy so disproportionate to the intake of fuel as to defy the laws of physics.

When I say he was a fast writer, I am speaking of the number of pages he could produce in a given space of time once he had actually started the job. But before that happened — before he could carry out the physical act of sitting down to the typewriter, he was the greatest procrastinator since Quintus Fabius Maximus, whose delaying tactics saved the Roman Republic from Hannibal.

It was an amazing phenomenon, the diversity of other interests that could win Dalton's attention away from the clearcut challenge of a blank piece of white paper. Producers who hired his imagination were likely to taste the first fruits of it in the form of ingenious catastrophes that were supposed to have afflicted the Trumbo household and kept the head of it from his desk.

Once he and I collaborated on a screenplay. The agreed-upon method of operation was for me to do a first draft and Trumbo a second, and then for the two of us to go over it lightly together. It was a theoretically sound approach, but after I had delivered my version, and he had set a deadline for the completion of his, I was confronted with a frustrating succession of postponements. Finally, however, one last deadline had been sworn to with such an intense and fearsome oath that I arrived at his house with a fairly secure hope of actually reading his draft. My confidence was bol-

stered by the sight of a whole stack of nonvirgin paper in front of him, which he proudly directed to my attention.

"I think I've got something big," was his simple preliminary to the revelation that he had been laboring day and night on improving, not our script but the common door latch. It seemed some conventional installation had failed him, and he had set himself the task of redesigning the way doors have been secured in modern times. It was no casual effort, I assure you; dozens of pages were filled with impressively detailed sketches and specifications for radically new knobs and internal hardware. Not only had he solved an urgent problem, he told me, but the patent was going to make his fortune.

As his income grew, the ranch continued to be a haven and a necessary antidote to life in Beverly Hills, but it also began to rival the town mansion as an outlet for his lavishness. The little cabin he had bought became a country estate with marble flooring, large silver ornaments, rare Philippine paneling and an artificial lake. I remember a dinner there observing the departure of our friend, Ian McLellan Hunter, for the army, that began with hearts of palm and turtle soup and proceeded through several more courses with an appropriate and costly wine for each.

"This is what I like about ranch life," Ian said, "the chuck."

The town house went soon after the blacklist struck in 1947; the ranch was home for Dalton and Cleo and their three children until we got out of prison in 1951, and then it had to go, too. Some lean years followed, but after the blacklist was broken Trumbo began to make big money again, and to spend it with the same abandon as before.

This time his undoing was "Johnny Got His Gun." He decided to make a movie of it, and when he found none of the usual sources would finance it, he directed it himself with privately raised money, including his own. The picture won both the Special Jury Award and the International Critics Prize at the Cannes Film Festival in 1971; but it was a downright failure at the box office. His investment of time and capital in it, added to the costs of the cancer and heart disease which killed him in 1976, brought him at the end to where he had so often lived, the brink of insolvency.

An 'Audience Picture'

By VINCENT CANBY

You may want to pay attention to "An Officer and a Gentleman," an unexpectedly moving new romantic drama that rediscovers the original meaning of the old phrase, "audience picture."

Strictly speaking, audience picture should always refer to any film that attracts a large, appreciative audience, whether the film is as good as "E.T." or as hokey as "Rocky III." Our language, however, is not pure. Definitions get bent with time. New meanings attach themselves to old words and, like barnacles, obscure original shape.

Thus, audience picture has become a not very nice way to speak of a movie. At the least, it's condescending. When one Hollywood producer tells another, "Ned, you have a great audience picture," you can be sure he's really telling Ned that he thinks the picture is a dog but that, with luck, the public will buy it.

Perhaps because truly good audience pictures are so few, they can be most disconcerting. One finds oneself responding fully to all-out emotional situations that, under lesser circumstances, we immediately recognize as bogus, pre-fabricated. Such a film was "The Turning Point," which, through the immense talents of the people who made it, forced us to consider seriously — and be moved by — the rather parochial problems, personal and professional, of its very special characters.

Almost as dazzling as "The Turning Point," though a different kind of film in every way, is "An Officer and a Gentleman," directed by Taylor Hackford ("The Idolmaker"). Here is a film that borrows any number of clichés from Hollywood service movies of the peacetime 1930's and, miraculously, transforms them into one of the most unpretentious and thoroughly enjoyable films of the year. It's not a great film and doesn't aspire to be, but it is so shrewdly written, directed and acted that it goes a long way toward removing from the phrase "audience picture" the pejorative connotations that have accrued during the years. It's not an easy film to feel superior to.

"An Officer and a Gentleman" sets out to be a crowd-pleaser and it succeeds on nearly all levels, including the esoteric. It's fun as much for the ways in which it meets the obligations of its service-film genre — something that film buffs will appreciate — as for its surprises, which have less to do with substance than with the high degree of skill and wit that have gone into it.

Douglas Day Stewart's screenplay most immediately recalls Mitchell Liesen's "I Wanted Wings." That film, about the hardships of the training of United States Army Air Corps cadets, was faulted, even in 1941, for its clichés, though the movie did introduce to the world the stunning physical presence of Veronica Lake.

Watching "An Officer and a Gentleman," which is about the indoctrina-

'An Officer and a Gentleman' sets out to be a crowd-pleaser and it succeeds.

tion of U. S. Naval Air cadets today, you have the feeling that Mr. Stewart might have watched "I Wanted Wings" and some of its predecessors and decided to make the same sort of movie, but one without the baloney. Among other things, his screenplay contains no equivalents to the sequence in "I Wanted Wings" in which Miss Lake somehow managed to stow away on a Flying Fortress.

There are no airplanes at all in "An Officer and a Gentleman," at least none capable of flying. Except for an extended prologue designed to fix the motivation for the film's principal character, all of the action takes place on or near a Seattle Navy base where candidates for flight school receive their indoctrination.

The film's focal point is Zack Mayo (Richard Gere) a hard-luck guy

whose abandoned mother committed suicide when he was a boy and whose father, a boozing, whirling chief petty officer, has raised him on a series of Navy bases around the world. When Zack graduates from college, he joins the Navy, to fly jets and to become the officer and gentleman his father never could be.

There's never much doubt that Zack will succeed, but how he succeeds, and over what odds, are the surprises in Mr. Stewart's authentic-sounding, gritty and romantic screenplay.

As they should be in films of this kind, the obstacles facing Zack seem to be insurmountable. There is, first of all, his bruised psyche. As written by Mr. Stewart, and as played by Mr. Gere in his best screen performance to date, Zack is a chilly, indelible, squinty-eyed overachiever, a fellow not unlike William Holden's memorabilia Sergeant "Stalag 17," though he is a lot more dangerous. Mr. Gere's Zack is a time-bomb attached to a cheap, unreliable alarm clock.

His chief adversary is Flight Sergeant Emil Foley (Louis Gossett Jr.), who's every brutal task-master of a top sergeant you've ever seen in a movie, but recycles as a man of recognizable cunning, dedication and humor. Tall, lean, of uncertain age but long experience, Mr. Gossett's Sgt. Foley is the kind of performance that wins awards, being a seamless blend of actor and material.

Equally important to Zack and the film is the character of Paula Pokrif, played by Debra Winger in a manner that realizes the sexy intelligent potential of the blue-collar character she played in "Urban Cowboy."

"An Officer and a Gentleman" takes two parts to a single, potentially corny but emotionally satisfying conclusion as it follows the course of Zack's basic training, under the relentless heckling of Sergeant Foley, and the supposedly casual love affair that develops between Zack and Paula. Fairly explicit love scenes are nothing new in today's commercial movies, but most unusual is the intensity of the eroticism of these sequences with Zack and Paula.

What Mr. Hackford and his actors have achieved is the kind of unembarrassed sexual intimacy that is far more easily written about in a novel than shown on the screen.

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AMERICAN CAROLINE WILSON spent 20 hours in a PLO stronghold in West Beirut at the height of an Israeli aerial and artillery bombardment. She plans to write up the ordeal for a New York weekly, the *Brigham-Pittsford Post*. It was a scoop that left her shaking.

Caroline, making her third trip to Lebanon, arrived in East Beirut about midday on Friday, July 30. With her was Mark Goldstone from Philadelphia, an Associated Press photographer, and an Israeli escort officer. The group split up at the Alexander Hotel, with the escort officer saying he would wait there for them until 2 p.m. When Caroline and Mark did not return as planned, the officer raised the alarm. By that time the two were in the hands of the PLO.

Caroline's steps had taken her to the Museum passage, the Green Line gate separating East and West Beirut. She spoke to several refugees to find out what life was like in the PLO-controlled part of the city. One man said he was going back into West Beirut and suggested she should go and see for herself. A journalist with an American passport could get in and out, he said.

"I decided to check first of all and asked an Israeli soldier, whom I took to be an officer, who was stationed with other troops near

the passage entrance. He said I could try, and I told him I would." She walked past the Israeli checkpoint and the Lebanese troops stationed in the middle of the street to the PLO guard at the far end. Several moments later she was joined by Mark, accompanied by the same man to whom she had spoken.

"I had really only wanted to find out whether it was possible to get into West Beirut. I had no intention of going in, because we had promised to be back at the hotel by 2 p.m." The PLO guards asked to see their passports and their press cards. "The only press cards we had were Israeli ones, which we handed over together with our passports."

"I had assumed that if we weren't allowed in, we would just be turned back. I hadn't realized that having an Israeli press card would automatically incriminate us. Looking back, says 24-year-old Caroline, "I realize that it was very naive of me." The two Americans were led into a bunker, through the first floor of a nearby building, occupied by PLO troops, and out onto a sidewalk, where men questioned them, indicating they were going to carry out a security check.

"At that stage, I became apprehensive and told Mark that I looked as if we were going to be taken away. We said that we

Night of terror with the PLO

By DAVID RUDGE/Jerusalem Post Reporter

were not interested in getting into West Beirut, that we just wanted to return to the Israeli lines. But they refused. A big coloured man took us to a car and strongly insisted that we get in. We obeyed."

"The man told us he was from Istanbul and had come to Beirut to fight with the PLO. He told us not to be afraid, that we would be sent back. He said it could take a few hours or a few days. That made us even more nervous."

THEY WERE taken to a PLO office and from there, blindfolded, by car to another building, where they were questioned for an hour. "The questions were mainly about where we came from, the newspapers we worked for and other personal matters. The official said we had been very stupid."

Another car ride to what Caroline describes as a devastated part of the city. PLO troops were lounging outside a large apartment building. Only later did the Americans realize the building was within 100 metres of the West Beirut sports stadium, one of the main PLO training grounds and ammunition dumps. They were taken into a first floor room, where a PLO official studied reports made out at the previous office.

By now it was about 4.30, more than two hours since they crossed the PLO checkpoint. Half an hour later the bombs started falling.

"We heard the Israeli planes coming in, and we were taken into a bomb shelter in the basement of the building. We were told to keep our

mouths open because of the pressure."

"We heard the bombs hit, and there were some strikes very close to us. The shelter shook, and glasses were knocked off tables. The PLO troops tried to cheer us up and gave us cigarettes and water. They were used to the bombing. We were both scared but, in a strange way, I felt calm." The aerial bombardment lasted for about two hours, according to Caroline's estimate. Afterwards they were led back to the first floor room, but their stay was a short one.

"At about 7.30, the shelling started, and we could hear it getting closer and closer. We asked to go to the bomb shelter for safety, but were told we would be all right in the room. Suddenly there was a direct hit on our building. We were

sitting by an open window, and we saw the explosion."

"Shards of glass flew into the room and the whole building shook. One of the PLO men was hit in the arm by flying glass. We scrambled into the corridor and down into the bomb shelter. The injured man went to the Gaza Hospital, which we later discovered was only 200 metres away."

Caroline and Mark stayed in the shelter until the shelling stopped, around 9 p.m.: hours of constant fear of a direct hit. They were given food and plenty of water, says Caroline. "We talked, and we did a lot of praying."

"The whole situation seemed totally unreal, unspeakably ironic. I am staying on a kibbutz, and there I was being bombed and shelled. Some of the PLO troops sang the American national anthem, and they made some wry comments about 'made in America' at the height of the shelling."

At the end of the bombardment, they were taken back to the first floor apartment, where they spent the night although fire raged in the upper storeys of the building. The next morning, before breakfast, they were taken on a tour of the area.

"The building directly opposite had been completely levelled by the shelling. You can imagine the

impression it made on us. The building we had been in had been hit at least four times. We counted ourselves lucky to be alive."

CAROLINE SAYS they were well-treated by their captors and repeatedly assured they would be released at the earliest possible moment. After breakfast, their hopes were realized.

A senior PLO officer arrived, checked their papers and told them they were free to leave. A battered car took them back to the first office where they had been questioned and on to the PLO checkpoint at the Green Line gate.

They began what they afterwards agreed was the longest walk of their lives. It was about 10 in the morning, Saturday, July 31, 20 hours since they had first walked down that passage.

"We went past the PLO guards who hailed us and told us to come inside, but there was no way we were going back into that bunker. We walked on, past the Lebanese troops, until we got to the Israeli lines. I cannot describe how jubilant I felt to have lived through the bombardment and to be back unharmed. I felt reborn."

"All the time we were in the bomb shelter I prayed and, afterwards I thanked God for saving us."

IN BRITISH EYES

By HYAM CORNEY/London

ONE OF the "victims" of the Lebanese war has been the hope that Anglo-Israeli relations, at a low ebb for the past few years, would improve. Lord Carrington, who was forced to resign as foreign secretary because of the Falklands crisis was among the foremost of those who wanted to see such an improvement, and his visit to Israel earlier this year was intended as the first step in opening a new chapter.

But in British eyes, Israel's invasion of Lebanon has put an end to that, at least for the immediate future. "Cool" is the diplomatic way in which one senior Foreign Office official categorized those relations when I spoke to him last week.

The war "has certainly harmed relations," he added. He emphasized, however, that "no damage is irreparable. An Israeli withdrawal from Beirut would go a long way towards repairing that damage."

He also made it clear that it is not just the war in Lebanon. Israel's policy on the West Bank "is another cause for concern."

This deterioration in relations has manifested itself in a number of ways, only some of them obvious and "provable." These include the announcement of an arms embargo on Israel, a symbolic gesture since Israel has hardly bought any arms from Britain in recent years, and the cancellation of an invitation to Israel to attend an official exhibition of military materiel.

Less tangible is the feeling that Britain is not going out of its way to hear the Israeli view of the matter at first hand. New Foreign Secretary, Francis Pym has had opportunities to meet a number of Arab leaders recently, including King Hussein. His deputy, Douglas Hurd, Minister of State at the Foreign Office with special responsibility for the Middle East, has also met Arab representatives. Neither Pym nor Hurd has had any meeting with any Israeli government figure, although a number have passed through here in recent weeks, including Deputy Foreign Minister Yehuda Ben-Meir.

THE BRITISH Foreign Office dismisses any suggestion that this is deliberate, claiming (with some justification) that the Israelis who have been here have not been of a rank that would oblige Pym or Hurd to see them. But if new man Pym really wanted to immerse himself in the intricacies of the Lebanese war so that he could make statements and speeches with valid authority, one would have thought that he

would have gone out of his way to hear the Israeli view.

Among the ministers who have been here in recent weeks has been Gideon Palt, of industry and trade. He was due here on an official visit at the invitation of his British counterpart, but the invitation was cancelled with an excuse that Palt is believed not to have entirely accepted. He came nevertheless for a "private visit" but saw no government minister.

If Pym has not seen any Israelis, he has at least received a delegation of Anglo-Jewish leaders. It was led by the president of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, Greville Janner, Q.C., M.P. and included a representative of the Zionist Federation.

The terse press release issued by the board after the meeting said merely that the delegation had expressed the "deep concern" of the community at the fact that the PLO's Farouk Kaddoumi had recently been received at the Foreign Office (albeit as part of an Arab League delegation), and at the government's Middle East policy in general.

The Zionist Federation representative at the Pym meeting, Malvin Benjamin, a leading Herut activist, was less inhibited. He publicly expressed his concern at the extent of the erosion of Israel's position within the Foreign Office, where he believes there is "a wall of implacable and unbroken hostility" towards Israel. "The Foreign Office does not regard Israel as a friend," he declared. "It regards it as an enemy. This government is the worst that Israel has faced since Ben-Gurion."

THE FOREIGN Office, naturally rejects such accusations completely. It dismisses as "paranoic" the suggestion that it has been guiding and encouraging the media here in its continual anti-Israel onslaught. More specifically, Malcolm Rifkind, the Jewish M.P. who was recently appointed a junior minister in the Foreign Office (though with responsibility for a part of the world reasonably far removed from the Middle East), told a meeting of Jewish journalists last week that in the few weeks that he had been at the Foreign Office, he had found no evidence whatsoever to substantiate charges from the Jewish community that the office is anti-Israel or pro-Arab.

Rifkind is not just a "nominal Jew." He is a proud and active Jew

who for many years has campaigned against Foreign Office attitudes on the Arab boycott and has been an active member of the Conservative Friends of Israel. Therefore, his assertion should not be dismissed out of hand. "I have yet to meet any Foreign Office figure who does not seek harmonious relations with Israel. There is no fundamental antipathy to Israel. No basic interest would be served by Israel's security being jeopardized."

While not denying that there are "genuine differences of opinion" at present between Britain and Israel, Rifkind emphasises: "I have not the slightest doubt that Britain wants good and healthy relations with Israel."

Also taking an optimistic view of the future is Arieh Handler, chairman of the Israel Committee of the Board of Deputies. While acknowledging the current deterioration, which he attributes to the government "having completely adopted the line of the Foreign Office boys", he does not think that this will have any lasting effect.

Once the Falklands crisis subsided, Francis Pym began to turn his attention to the Middle East. His first statements were stridently anti-Israel, to such an extent that some supporters of Israel could be heard muttering "come back Carrington." The Foreign Secretary has since toned down his remarks, though without softening his basic line.

But if Pym and Hurd will not see lower-ranking Israeli ministers, perhaps the time has come for Israel to consider sending over someone more senior. The obvious choice would be the Foreign Minister and it is to be regretted that the opportunity of Yitzhak Shamir's visit to Washington was not utilized for a stopover in London.

Not so long ago, when Anglo-Israel relations were warmer and James Callaghan was premier, Menachem Begin always made a point of a London stopover whenever possible.

In theory, Shamir has an open invitation to come to London. It was extended when Lord Carrington paid his official visit to Jerusalem earlier this year. But in the current atmosphere being generated in Foreign Office circles, it looks highly unlikely Shamir will take up the option.

CORRECTION

In Friday's photograph of Dora Sowden being awarded the Documents of Dance Award, the other woman shown should have been identified as Anne Wilson-Wangh, international chairperson of the Dance Library of Israel.

ART AND Archaeology in the Graeco-Roman world is the subject of an exhibition now being held at the Negev Museum in Beersheba. The exhibition is unusual in that all the exhibits are presented in the form of postage stamps.

The show, which will be open throughout September, is a philatelic first. Shraga Levi, veteran resident of Beersheba, has collected stamps for many years.

Five years ago, he decided to merge his two great loves and to collect stamps on archaeology only. The rest of his considerable collection was used to trade for missing items. He now boasts the most complete collection of its kind in existence. The stamp show at the Negev Museum is made up of 498 stamps from all over the world and is housed in 19 cases.

Some countries, according to Levi, honour their past more than others. "There are countries like England, Russia and the U.S. that do not devote many stamps to archaeology; neither to their own past nor to the past of other countries. The countries which do honour their past and want to make that past known are first of all Greece, then Cyprus, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia." Next come some of the small European countries. "Italy is almost in last place. Nor do Italian stamps have the beauty and richness of most Greek stamps."

Shraga Levi came to Israel from Hungary, with a six-month stopover in Cyprus. The year was 1947. He went to Kibbutz Ein Hashofet and then, together with some friends, founded Kibbutz Dvir in the Negev. In 1957, he moved to Beersheba. He was a tour-guide before becoming a contractor.

"I began stamp collecting as a child but the war ended that and everything was destroyed," Levi resumed his hobby in Beersheba, and "since to my knowledge nobody in the world collects stamps on archaeology," he decided to collect them exclusively.

A collection of this kind is not assessed by the monetary worth of individual stamps but its completeness. Shraga Levi feels his collection is nearly complete. One problem is that not all deals come through; for example, he once negotiated a particular seven-stamp series and sent the owner a number of stamps as agreed. By return post he received only six of the series. Another incident involved a damaged stamp. On the whole, Levi stresses, collectors are fair and trade honourably.

LEVI WOULD like people all over the world to help him find series on archaeology that might have escaped him: "Where haven't I writ-



Shraga Levi and a poster advertising his stamp exhibition.

(Liora Moriel)

Philatelic first

By LIORA MORIEL/Jerusalem Post Reporter

ten? I wrote to Brazil, Mexico, everywhere really, to ask people to send me stamps — and I have some valuable stamps to trade off. I also collect envelopes on archaeology."

Four months ago, Levi succeeded in interesting Dr. Artur Segal, the Negev Museum's archaeological curator, in arranging an exhibition of his stamps. Segal, who specializes in the classical era, decided to limit the show to that period, thereby giving unity to what might have been an interesting but haphazard assemblage.

The curator, the collector and the graphic artist met often during these months, and spent endless hours sorting, selecting and affixing the various stamps in their glass-fronted

cases. A four-page leaflet in Hebrew accompanies the exhibition.

The cases are arranged by subject: mythology, theatre, famous sites, art, artifacts, coins, and so on. Fifteen cases are devoted to the Greeks and the Romans; four to Israeli stamps depicting coins and other artefacts from the time of the second temple.

Shraga Levi is not pleased with the Israeli Philatelic Service, claiming that it has put out too few stamps in this field. He is not only concerned for himself — he is feels that beautiful, limited-edition stamps showing Israel's culture, heritage and ancient sites could be a source of revenue for the state.

He also thinks the service conservative and slow. In September, Beersheba will host an international stamp show. He and other local collectors have approached the Philatelic Service with the idea that a special stamp be issued on that occasion depicting an item unique to Beersheba, such as the 4000-year-old figurine of a woman found at Tel Beersheba. The idea was not adopted. There may be a stamp to commemorate the show, but it will be "nothing special."

Shraga Levi hopes to hold more shows at the museum, where he will share his hobby with others. Future exhibitions will be on the fertile crescent and on pre-Columbian culture.

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Oil shale might supply our fuel for 40 years

By DAVID KRIVINE

Israel's oil imports equal 40 per cent of her total visible imports and over one-tenth of her national income. Moreover, oil supplies are largely controlled by OPEC, which is largely controlled by the Arabs.

This explains why Yitzhak Berman, on becoming Energy Minister, gave his blessing to the creation of the Pama Company — Pama being short (in Hebrew) for Energy Resources Development.

There are two ways of reducing this dependence on imported oil. One is to use imported coal, as Israel's newest power-station in Hadera is doing. But coal costs foreign currency too, added to which not all energy-users can avail themselves of that substance, at least in its combustible form.

The second way to reduce oil imports, Pama has decided, is to exploit local deposits of oil shale. Besides, coal does not have to be used only for burning. The company is studying methods of turning it into gas — which would widen its industrial uses, notably in the petrochemical branch.

The key figure in Pama is its director general, Dr. Joseph Yerushalmi. A long tank man, he began life as a parachutist in the regular army, then went overseas to study at an American university.

After 17 years, he was professor of chemical engineering at the same university. During the subsequent three years he worked as technical manager of the Coal Gasification Department at the Electric Power Research Institute in the U.S.

That makes 20 years abroad, at which point Yerushalmi decided to come home. He planned to join the Technion; instead he was offered Pama. For once the absorption process was right. The returning Israeli was slotted into a job that perfectly fits his qualifications.

What is an oil shale? The word "shale" means a stone that splits easily into fine pieces. An oil shale is a stone of that kind, coloured grey, and permeated (if the observer did not know it) with petroleum. Israel has reserves — discovered so far — exceeding five billion tons.

They are not terribly rich deposits. Shale in Colorado yields 25-45 gallons of petroleum per ton of rock; the yield in Israel is 15-20 gallons. Calculations indicate that local reserves could yield all told about 320 million tons of fuel. Israel consumes 8 million tons a year.

Why has this promising resource not been exploited hitherto? For the usual reason: processing it would be too costly — or at least that was the case until oil prices shot up in the seventies. But are we not in the eighties now? Yerushalmi explains the lag. Developing a process for

mining the shale and extracting oil from it is a risky business, given that natural petroleum prices may drop again, as happened in fact last year. Nevertheless, we insist, is Israel not concerned more than other countries with finding a substitute for imported oil even if its price drops a little? Yerushalmi nods; but still somebody is needed to make the decision, and that means adopting a policy.

He recalls: "President Carter set up a Synfuel Corporation to develop alternative energy sources. He gave it a loan guarantee to fend off the investment risk and a price guarantee to fend off the marketing risk."

"Come President Reagan who says, 'do it yourself.' I think he's wrong. Pioneer industries need a push. Businessmen will put their capital into hotels and computer centres, not into an unknown fuel substitute." Fortunately Berman understood the need for pump-priming.

Shares in Pama are divided four ways: one-quarter belonging to Israel Chemicals, one-quarter to the Oil Refineries, and one-quarter to the National Coal Supply Company — making three-quarters in the hands of companies owned wholly or partly by the government. The last quarter is split up between the three oil-marketing companies: Paz, Delek, and Sonol.

For the next 18 months the work of Pama and its staff of 21 is entirely research, development and testing. We examine every possible technology, says Yerushalmi. His eyes are skinned on what other countries do. Union Oil is building an experimental plant to produce 10,000 barrels of shale oil a day, or half a million tons a year. It will be complete next year.

One senses that Pama will not commit itself until all these pilot schemes have proved their worth. If Yerushalmi recommends a method in the end, it is pretty sure to be a sound one.

Why does he set his sights at only one million tons a year? "We can't put all our eggs in one basket," he grins. For making electricity, oil is half as dear again as coal, so we can't compete there.

"Oil shales should concentrate on liquid fuel needed in cars, planes, army tanks. It has industrial uses too."

It could be supplemented by coal gas, the production of which is likewise under study. Yerushalmi visualizes a central coal-gas station, with pipelines leading to the industrial plants that are its customers. By the nineties coal, coal gas, and shale oil will in all probability be making serious inroads into Israel's fuel market, at the expense (thankfully) of imported oil.

Under the arrangement, MEA will pick up and land passengers booked to or from Lebanon at Larnaca. Travellers will have to use the sea route from the Christian port of Jounieh to reach Cyprus.

MEA lost five planes, while six of its jets are grounded as a result of heavy shelling of Beirut airport. Israeli forces now control the paralyzed facility which has been closed since June 7.

Bilal Sadek, MEA manager in Cyprus, said the first flight would probably be to Geneva and Nice on or about August 14. Other routes are yet to be decided.

Lebanese airline to use Cyprus airport

NICOSIA, Cyprus (AP). — Middle East Airlines (MEA), Lebanon's flag carrier, will resume its flights from Larnaca airport after it was forced to suspend operations as a result of Israel's June 6 invasion of Lebanon and the closure of Beirut international airport, the Cyprus Mail reported yesterday.

MEA senior vice-president Sami Rababy confirmed that the agreement for MEA to use facilities at Larnaca international airport had been finalized.

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Kodak's disc-film camera sells here for IS3,000

By YITZHAK OKED
TEL AVIV. — Delta Colour, the Israeli importer of Kodak products, are now selling Kodak's new disc-photography system camera. It retails for about IS3,000.

Kodak officials say it represents a "substantial leap forward" in automation. The camera is compact and is built around a new unique rotating disc of film.

According to Kodak chairman Walter A. Fallon the new camera and film will enable "decision free photography by its users, allowing them to take good pictures virtually anywhere."

The film is developed in the normal way. The camera is powered by lithium cells that contain more energy than most users will need for years of camera use. Combined with an electronic brain, the Ultralife energy source provides 1/2 second electronic flash recycling, automatic film advance, and automatic exposure control.

A key to the new system is the development of Kodacolor HR disc film for use in the extremely small (approximately 8x10mm) format.

The 200 ASA-speed film has lower granularity and more sharpness than the 100-speed Kodacolor II film, regarded up to now as the premier achievement in colour film.

According to Kodak spokesmen, the disc camera and new film should reduce the chance of underexposure by half, camera shake that results in blurry pictures to less than two per cent, and the number of blank frames and flash failures to less than a fraction of one per cent. The yield of "good to excellent" pictures is expected to increase by 25 per cent.

The Tokyo-based Canon photography company is not taking this innovation quietly; its answer is a small automated 35-mm. camera — "Snappy" — in the same price range of Kodak's new product.

Canon officials believe that "Snappy" can give higher quality pictures than the smaller-negative 110 film or disc film. They say that "Snappy" was designed to replace pocket cameras that use 110 film.

"Snappy," which has just been introduced in the U.S. will probably be on sale in Israel in another few months.

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Israel Lands Administration Southern District Offer for Lease of Site in Omer for Construction of 147 Low Lying Residential Units on Single Family Plots Tender No. BS/82/38

The Israel Lands Administration invites bids for the long term lease of land intended for the construction of 147 residential buildings in the form of one family structures, and a plot for the construction of a storage and workshop structure. Details of area and construction potential at time of publication of the tender, were as follows:

Municipal building plan	Plot nos.	Total Approx. net plot area (sq.m.)	Total building %	Minimum required price (IS*)	Deposit (IS)
28/102/03/14	1-147	80,400	30% one floor or 40% for cottage	75,816,000	1,000,000

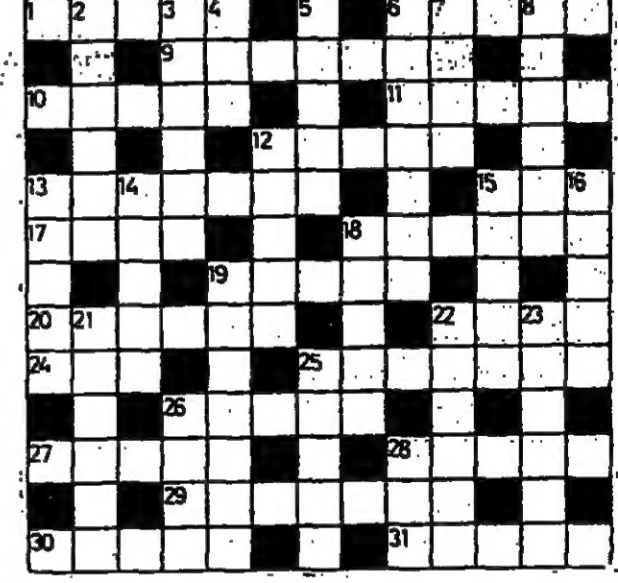
*Minimum price does not include: sum of IS1,310,000 to be paid separately by tenders awardees, for storage and workshop plot on a 2000sq.m. area, as well as immediate area and general environmental development to be implemented by tenders awardees, all in accordance with conditions outlined in the tender and the annexed development list. A detailed prospectus including tenders conditions, appendices, detailed municipal building plan, list of regulations and sketch, are available for a IS600 fee, at our Beersheba district office, Sderot Ha'etzmaut (above Yehelom hall), between 8.30 a.m. and 12 noon on regular working days. Deadline for submitting tenders bids is 12 noon on September 15, 1982. Bids not in the tenders mailbox by the above time for any reason whatsoever, will not be considered. The Lands Administration does not undertake to accept the highest or any other bid.

TWO-IN-ONE CROSSWORD

CRYPTIC PUZZLE ACROSS

- To nag wildly in faraway lands (5)
- Moirs goes native (5)
- Free of politics (7)
- Young fellow possibly bold about love (5)
- Like an unfortunate golfer's luck? (5)
- Least broken rock (5)
- Key star possibly not consistent (7)
- A local house (3)
- This goddess is copied (4)
- Erroneous letter from the faculty (6)
- Item of club cutlery? (5)
- In many races, they aren't fairly good (6)
- Portion of sausage, duck and pudding (4)
- Projecting part of an earthenware jug (3)
- A bird on cheese (7)
- A mighty man is he (5)
- Where to take off by air? (5)
- To many, he's unusually vile (5)
- In which a member of the cricket side may be caught (3, 4)
- Think a lot of the young (5)
- Dan's out with Bob (5)

Use the same diagram for either the Cryptic or the Easy puzzle:



EASY PUZZLE ACROSS

- Frequently (5)
- Cut of meat (5)
- Stock thief (7)
- Coquette (5)
- Drilling tool (5)
- Corner (5)
- Forenoon (7)
- Expected (3)
- Was in debt (4)
- Slept noisily (6)
- Entity (5)
- Assistant (6)
- Speck of soot (4)
- Beast of burden (3)
- Under (7)
- Finely-ground meal (5)
- Courtyard (5)
- Aquatic mammal (5)
- Deafard (7)
- Warms (5)
- Clothing (5)

DOWN

- 2 Enue (6)
- Commission (6)
- Bolt fastener (3)
- Smart (5)
- Closing securely (7)
- Genuine (4)
- Approach road (6)
- Wrath (5)
- Coffee (5)
- Staggers (5)
- Play (5)
- Woman's name (5)
- Mock (5)
- Roars (7)
- Property (6)
- Dog (6)
- Pronounces (6)
- Is light (5)
- Clenched hand (4)
- Ant (3)

Yesterday's Cryptic Solution

ACROSS. — 3, Clubs, 8, Wagon, 10, Rolls, 11, Tam, 12, Fatal, 13, Despair, 15, Cedar, 18, Art, 19, Renée, 21, Seated, 22, Plot, 23, Bert, 24, Ample, 26, Tenses, 29, D, 31, Shaver, 32, Bud-fest, 34, Lure, 35, Elk, 36, Parks, 37, Arise, 38, Slugs, 39, 425, 7, 925, Cheese, One, Battle.

DOWN. — 1, Water, 2, Compact, 4, Liar, 5, B-raced, 6, Soles, 7, P-head, 9, Gas, 12, Fitzen, 14, Arm, 16, Diced, 17, Rents, 19, Real-dee, 20, Spots, 21, Some (s-o-ome), 23, Bezzers, 24, Aerial, 25, R-T-d, 27, A-bead, 28, Talks, 30, Pakes, 32, Brag, 33, Ill.

Yesterday's Easy Solution

ACROSS. — 3, Whirl, 8, Cured, 10, Aitch, 11, Lot, 12, Brisk, 13, Accrues, 15, Heard, 18, Eric, 19, Lesser, 21, Panther, 22, Hilt, 23, Leaf, 24, Seethes, 26, Stamps, 29, Hut, 31, Meter, 32, Centres, 34, Diver, 35, Eye, 36, Stain, 37, Credo, 38, Agate, 39, 425, 7, 925, Cheese, One, Battle.

Today's Easy Solution

ACROSS. — 3, Whirl, 8, Cured, 10, Aitch, 11, Lot, 12, Brisk, 13, Accrues, 15, Heard, 18, Eric, 19, Lesser, 21, Panther, 22, Hilt, 23, Leaf, 24, Seethes, 26, Stamps, 29, Hut, 31, Meter, 32, Centres, 34, Diver, 35, Eye, 36, Stain, 37, Credo, 38, Agate, 39, 425, 7, 925, Cheese, One, Battle.

Solutions to today's puzzle tomorrow

WHAT'S ON

Notices in this feature are charged at IS\$4.00 per line including VAT: insertion every day costs IS\$162.20 including VAT, per month. Copy accepted at offices of The Jerusalem Post and all recognized advertising agents.

JERUSALEM MUSEUMS
Israel Museum. Exhibitions: Permanent Collection of Judaica, Art and Archaeology; Art for Humour's Sake; Humour in contemporary art; Old Gods and Young Heroes. Pearlman collection of Maya Ceramics; Statements in Colour, contemporary photography; Jewish Treasures from Paris, from collections of Chayim Museum and Consistor; On the Surface: Approaches to paint and canvas in art of our time; Toys and Games in the Ancient World (Rockefeller Museum); Colour (Paley Centre, next to Rockefeller Museum); Chaim Klee, new paintings; Gift of M.C. Escher's graphic work; Special Exhibit: Islamic Armour (Rockefeller Museum); Special Exhibit: Adornment of a Jewish Bride, according to tradition of Hatz, Afghanistan; Special Exhibit: Gifts to Eliahu Dohbin Pavilion for Ancient Glass, Special Exhibit: Throno Legi Cast in Bronze, from Samaria, 6th-4th cent. B.C.E.; Special Exhibit: In memory of Baroness Alia de Rothschild, selection of jewelry; Pateria, Israeli special Exhibit. Menorah by Taub, based on electronic feedback and vibration. Exhibition (for children): Touch: Artists' Tribute to Bertha Urding. Visiting hours: Mon-Museum 10-5, At 11: Guided tour in English, At 10.30 and 3.30: "The Gentleman Tramp" (Charlie Chaplin) film, 11 and 4: Free performance for children, "Punch and Judy," traditional puppet theatre. 12.30: Art films, "Sculpture" (free with admission tickets), 3.30: Special guided tour, Archaeology Galleries.

CONDUCTED TOURS
HADASSAH — Guided tour of all installations. Hourly tours at Hadassah Mt. Scopus. Information, reservations: 02-416333, 02-426271.

Hebrew University: 1. Tours in English at 9 and 11 a.m. from Administration Building. Givat Ram Campus. Buses 9 and 28.

GENERAL ASSISTANCE

EMERGENCY PHARMACIES

Jerusalem: Jerusalem, 212 Jaffa, 520073. Balsam, Salah Eddin, 272315. Shu'afat, Shu'afat Road, 810108. Dar Eldawa, Herod's Gate, 282358. Tel Aviv: Benny, 174 Dizengoff, 222386. Kupat Holim Clinic, 7 Amsterdam, 225142. Netanya: Laniado, Kiryat Zana, 30071. Haifa: Yavne, 7 Ibn Sina, 666156.

DUTY HOSPITALS

Jerusalem: Bikur Holim (pediatrics), Hadassah E.K. (internal, surgery, orthopedics, E.N.T.), Shaare Zedek (ophthalmology, Niglas Ladosh (obstetrics). Tel Aviv: Radach (pediatrics), Ichilov (internal, surgery). Netanya: Laniado (obstetrics, internal, pediatrics, gynecology). Migas Ladosh: Open line 4-6 p.m. every Monday answers to obstetrics, gynecology, surgery, sexual functioning, and family planning problems. Tel. 02-633356.

FLIGHTS

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Call 03-972484 (multi-line)
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03-295555 (20 lines)

FIRST AID

Magen David Adom first aid centres are open from 8 p.m. to 7 a.m. Emergency home calls by doctors at fixed rates. Sick Fund members should enquire about rebate.

Phone numbers: Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Haifa, — 101. Dan Region (Ramat Gan, Be'er Brak, Givatayim) — 761111.

ASHDOD 2222

Ashdod 2222, Ashkelon 2333, Bat Yam 585555/6, BeerSheva 78333, Eilat 72333, Hadera 22333, Holon 803133/4, Nahariya 92333, Nazareth 54333, Netanya 23333, Petah Tikva 912333, Rehovot 054-51333, Rishon LeZion 942333, Safed 30333, Tiberias 20111.

Rape Crisis Centre (24 hours), for help call 02-23819, Tel Aviv, 04-88794, Haifa, 02-41010, Jerusalem.

"Eran" — Mental Health First Aid. Tel.: Jerusalem 669911, Tel Aviv 253111, Haifa 538-888, BeerSheva 32111, Netanya 35316.

POLICE

Dial 100 in most parts of the country. In Tiberias dial 924444, Kiryat Shmona 40444.

GIVE SOLDIERS LIFTS

ENTERTAINMENT

Due to the present situation programmes are liable to be changed without notice

TELEVISION

EDUCATIONAL:
9.00 Presty Butterfly
9.25 Captain Nemo
9.30 Tom Gratten's War (part 7)
10.00 English
10.20 Meeting with Oded Batzar
10.50 The Time Tunnel
16.00 The Music of Man (part 5)
17.00 Peace for Galilee — Eve magazine
CHILDREN'S PROGRAMMES:
17.30 Tamar's Hut — puppet theatre
18.00 The Mill on the Floss, Episode 5 of an 8-part serial based on George Eliot's famous book about Victorian society
18.20 Harold Lloyd — comic excerpts from Harold Lloyd's films
ARABIC-LANGUAGE programmes:
19.00 Sport
19.27 Programme Trailer
19.30 News
HEBREW PROGRAMMES resume at 20.00 with a news roundup
20.03 Ladies Man. New comedy series about a man who works on the editorial

staff of a women's journal. Starring Lawrence Pressman and Louise Sorrell

20.30 That's Hollywood. New series about the movie industry. Part 1: The Hottest Stars

20.55 Stop — weekly road safety corner
21.00 Mabab Newsweek
21.30 Second Look — news commentary and analysis

22.05 A Man Called Intrepid. Part 5 of a 6-part serial based on William Stevenson's bestseller about a World War II spy group organized by Winston Churchill. Starring David Niven, Michael York and Barbara Hershey

22.55 This Is The Time — Ram Eylon's interview and entertainment hour
23.45 News

JORDAN TV (unofficial):
17.50 Cartoons 18.00 French Hour 18.25 (TV) 3 Little House on the Prairie, 19.30 News in French 19.30 News in Hebrew
20.00 News in Arabic 20.30 Terry and June 21.05 One Hundred Great Paintings
21.16 Play of the Week 22.00 News in English 22.15 Wolcutt

ON THE AIR

First Programme
6.11 Musical Clock
7.07 (stereo), Morning Music

8.05 (stereo), Morning Concert
10.05 (stereo), Music
11.08 Sephardi songs
12.00 Education for All
12.05 (stereo), From the Tape Library
13.05 (stereo), Potpourri of Music
14.10 Children's programmes
15.30 World of Science (repeat)
15.55 Notes on a New Book
16.05 (stereo), Classical Requests
17.35 Programmes for Olim
20.05 Everyman's University
20.35 (stereo), Music
22.30 Reflections on the portion of the week by Prof. Yehoshua Leibowitz
23.05 (stereo), Light Classical Music
00.30 (stereo), Music

Second Programme

6.54 Green Light — drivers' corner
7.00 This Morning — news magazine
8.05 Puss in Sandals — children's programme
9.05 All Shades of the Network — morning magazine
12.05 Tunes and Regards
13.00 Midday — music, news commentary
14.10 In a Minor Tone
16.05 From Here to There — immigration matters
17.10 Magazine
17.25 Of People and Places
18.05 Religion Magazine
18.47 Bible Reading — Psalms 79:8-13
19.00 Today — people and events in the news

20.10 Sabbath songs
22.05 Literary Magazine (repeat)
23.05 The Second Half — women's magazine

Army

6.10 Morning Sounds
7.07 — 707 — Alex Ansky reviews the morning papers
8.05 IDF Morning Newscast
9.05 Right Now — with Kobi Meidan
11.05 Musical requests
12.05 Israeli Summer — with Orly Yaniv
14.05 Two Hours — music, theatre, art and cinema reviews, interviews and anecdotes
16.05 Four in the Afternoon
17.05 IDF Evening Newscast
18.05 Army and Defence Magazine
19.05 Music Magazine
21.00 Mabab Newsweek
22.05 Popular songs
23.05 Authors write of war (repeat)
00.05 Night Birds — songs, chat

ENGLISH LANGUAGE BROADCASTS

7.00, 14.00, 17.00, 20.00
Special daily features following the news at 14.00
SUN. Israel Mosaic — weekly magazine
MON. You're On the Air — Live phone-in
TUE. Mainstream — information and consumer magazine
WED. Forum — discussion

THUR. Studio Three — arts in Israel
FRI. Thank Goodness It's Friday — Sabbath eve programme
SAT. This Week — weekly newscast. These broadcasts can be heard on the Fourth programme 738 kHz. In the Jerusalem area 875 kHz. In Central Israel 1026 kHz.

BBC

1322 kHz.
World Service newscasts at 14.00, 17.00 and 20.15.

CINEMAS

JERUSALEM 4, 7, 9

Eden: How to Succeed in Exams; Editor: Papa Leon; Peter Pan 4, 6, 8; Mitchell: Clash of the Titans 4, 7, 9.15; Orly: What a Party; Orion: Fantomas; Orm: My Bodyguard; Rose: A Star is Born 4, 6.45, 9.15; Sennar: Wooden Shoes 8.30; Binyamin Ha'ma: Bananas 7, 9; Cinema One: A Night in Camelot 7, 9; Cinemafour: Dr. Strangelove 7; Hirschman-Nagasaki, August 1945 and Children of Hiroshima 9.30; Israel Museum: Gentleman Tour 10.30, 3.30; Sculpture 12.30

TEL AVIV 4.00, 7.15, 9.30

Alamy: Papa Leon; Ben-Yehuda: On Golden Pond; Cinema 1: Jungle Book 11, 2, 4.30, 6.30, 8.30, 10.20; Cinema 2: Jungle

Book 8.30, 10.20; Reds 12, 4.10; Cinema 3: First Monday in October 4.40, 7.25, 9.40; Cinema 4: Straw Dogs 10.30, 1.30, 4.25, 7.05, 9.35; Cinema 5: Atlantic City, U.S.A. 10.30, 1.30, 4.25, 7, 9.25; Cinema One: Battle Beyond the Stars; Cinema Two: Touch of Class; Delek: Avraham One; Drive-In: Boom Boom 9.30; Peter Pan 7.15; Ser film, midnight; Esther: Let's Stay-Home on Vacation; Cat: Patterly; Gordon: Four Friends 5, 7.15, 9.30; Hot: Death Wish II; Lev: La Bona 11, 1.30, 4.30, 7.30, 9; Lev II: Loin 11, 1.30, 4.30, 7.15, 9; Lina: S.O.B.; Raiders of the Lost Ark 11 a.m.; Maudie: Le Grand Pardon 7.30, 9.30; Sound of Music 11, 4.15; Magsal: Count the Barbarians; Orly: Lady from Moscow 4.30, 7, 9.30, Paris: National Lampoon's Animal House 10, 12, 2, 4, 7.15, 9.30; Peter: Evil Under the Sun; Shaluf: Prince of the City 6, 7.15; Studies

Art Rath
Editor and
Managing Director

THE JERUSALEM
POST

Ervin Frenkel
Editor

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Menahem-Av 20, 5742 • Shawwal 19, 1402

Begin overtakes Sharon

A FINAL agreement on the evacuation of the PLO terrorists from West Beirut may at long last be close at hand. This would seem to be the conclusion to be drawn from the exchange of messages between the U.S. secretary of state and Israel's premier yesterday.

Mr. Shultz reported to Mr. Begin that progress towards an agreement had been made, and that Ambassador Habib was close to a settlement with the PLO, even though a number of important points still remained to be ironed out. The major hitch was the lack of Arab countries willing to serve as host to the PLO men, following their departure from the West Beirut stronghold. But at least the PLO was now, according to Mr. Shultz, willing to leave. Israel's recent military pressure doubtless had something to do with it.

Replying, Mr. Begin suggested readiness to go along with the American initiative. On the crucial issue of the timing of the entry of the mooted multinational force into West Beirut, Mr. Begin offered a concession by endorsing Mr. Habib's old proposal that the force would take up positions after the bulk of the terrorists had actually left town.

On this basis, the premier, carrying the cabinet along, was prepared to give his consent in principle to Mr. Habib's current evacuation plan. He thus overrode the furious objections of Defence Minister Sharon. According to Mr. Sharon the plan provided for the departure of but a handful of terrorists, for whom an asylum was available, leaving all the rest behind under the protection of a multinational force spearheaded by the French. The defence minister therefore termed the plan a fraud and a deception.

Attributing such talk to some unidentified "Christian circles" in Lebanon, Mr. Begin reminded the cabinet yesterday of the heavy price paid by Israel, rather than the Christians, in the war, and challenged the legitimacy of the criticism. But the premier's listeners could not have been unaware who it was that had expressed himself in these terms locally.

Mr. Begin was reluctant, so he informed the cabinet, to order an assault on West Beirut, because of the large number of casualties such an operation would exact from the IDF, and he was all for the fullest exhaustion of all political possibilities first. This way, too, the premier appeared to be drawing a line between himself and the defence minister.

Coming back from his lengthy meeting with Mr. Habib in Beirut yesterday, Mr. Sharon was still able to point sceptically to the dearth of Arab candidates prepared to shelter the terrorists, when it was time for them to depart. This remains a major impediment indeed, but not even Mr. Sharon was now able to claim that the central issue was still the very readiness of the terrorists to be evacuated in peace.

In any case, Mr. Sharon's campaign against Mr. Habib's plan — a campaign which took Mr. Begin himself, like most everyone else, completely by surprise — has apparently been stalled. This in itself is good news.

Chief Rabbis flying high

THE FLAP about kashrut in El Al, Tourism Minister Avraham Shariar has suggested, may well be accounted for by the fact that the chief rabbis are envious of Agudat Yisrael, for its success in pushing a ban on Sabbath flights by the national carrier. This may indeed be the only rational explanation for the latest burst of ecclesiastical activism.

Kashrut is obligatory in El Al, as is natural for an Israeli airline that caters mainly to a Jewish clientele. That, too, is why El Al had, until late last week, three kashrut inspectors making sure that the religious law was being followed at the airline's catering subsidiary, Tamam. The rabbi in charge of Ben-Gurion airport, Yoel Souissa, was supervising the inspectors.

No wonder Rabbi Souissa himself was dumbfounded when, last Thursday, while he was away on a visit to Canada, chief rabbis Ovadia Yosef and Shlomo Goren summarily withdrew Tamam's kashrut certificate. Their decision was based on a report that a spot check had revealed the Tamam kitchen to operate on the Sabbath. Religious Jews everywhere were at once warned that El Al food was inedible — and, in effect, that they could no longer fly El Al with a clear Jewish conscience.

Had the chief rabbis been following what is considered normal civil procedure, they would have first held a discussion of the allegations with Rabbi Souissa and then with the managements of Tamam and El Al. The purpose would have been to work out an agreement for corrective action, if it was found necessary. But the chief rabbis appear to have been far less interested in redressing a wrong than in demonstrating that they, too, were able to arm-twist the national carrier on a religious matter.

With maximum possible fanfare, in full view of the nation, Tamam's certificate of kashrut was officially lifted. This was how both Tamam and El Al were first apprised of the rabbis' decision.

The following day, Friday, a meeting was held between the chief rabbis and Tamam executives, in the presence of the airport rabbi. But it only served to lay down the law to the company, and further highlight El Al's humiliation by clerical authority. The certification was restored, on condition that the number of kashrut inspectors was doubled, that no work be carried out at the Tamam kitchen on the Sabbath and that, within a month, the key to the kitchen be entrusted to the airport rabbi for the duration of the Sabbath.

The chief rabbis did not seem to be troubled by the fact that Tamam's allegedly non-kasher food was being supplied, as kasher, to all the other airlines that stop at Ben-Gurion airport. What mattered was that the chief rabbis were able to chalk up a political victory over El Al.

In a larger sense, it is true, the chief rabbis have also established, or re-established, the principle of untrammelled rabbinical authority in all matters in which the chief rabbinate has a monopoly. On the other hand, perhaps it would be proper for the High Court of Justice to examine whether the exercise of that authority without regard to orderly procedures of fair hearing can be reconciled with the law of the land.

The Shi'ite phenomenon

By OVADIA DANON

DESPITE THE radical stance of their religious leaders, the Shi'ites of Lebanon are characterized, more than anything else, by their sheer opportunism. Their ability to use this opportunism to make arrangements with the other ethnic groups in Lebanon is carried over in their attitude to the Israelis.

The feudal elements among them are close to other elements which are, at the present, friendly to Israel.

It seems that as long as Israel insists on remaining in Lebanon until the PLO is out, the Shi'ites — including the Shi'ites — will not risk their members in a confrontation with the terrorists. On the other hand, they will do everything in their power to refrain from appearing to be agents of the Israelis.

It is clear that an important and far-reaching change is taking place among the Shi'ites of Lebanon: they are developing from an unsuccessful and passive group into a stronger and more active force.

THE SHI'ITES comprise a majority in Iran, Iraq, Bahrain and Yemen. In Lebanon, they form the majority among the Moslem population.

Islam is divided into two major streams — the Sunnis, who represent a majority in Islam, and the Shi'ites, the largest of the minority factions. There are eight to ten times more Sunnis than there are Shi'ites in the world, although these figures are estimates, and no exact statistics are available. Within the ranks of the Shi'ites, the largest sect is that known as the *Ethna Ashiyya* or, more commonly, as the *Jafariya*. This branch is the dominant one among the Moslems of Iran, Iraq and Lebanon.

Among the characteristics that distinguish the Shi'ites from the Sunnis are: a ritualized personality cult surrounding the person of their leader, the imam; absolutism; autocracy; mysticism; messianism; xenophobia; and the fact that their religious leaders enjoy far more independence than their Sunni counterparts.

Through their opposition to the Sunni majority, and to secular governments, the Shi'ites have developed an underground mentality with overtones of conspiracy. They teach their followers to adopt a low profile and to deceive those in their immediate environment, if need be, when they are in danger or comprise a small minority.

There are also religious differences between the two branches of Islam. The Shi'ites incorporated beliefs and practices other than those of the Arab Moslems, including influences from Persian doctrines and from the secondary Islamic areas, as well as the messianic sects. Even today, the real

base of the Shi'ites is not an Arab centre, but Iran.

While the Sunnis enjoy their followers to accept the authority of all Moslem governments, the Shi'ites deny the right to rule to anyone not a Shi'ite and even oblige their members to oppose all "illegitimate governments."

As to religious beliefs, the Shi'ites have developed an elitist view of Islamic history. The Shi'ites attribute to their imam an almost divine status, and consider him to be infallible. This is true of their attitude towards Ayatollah Khomeini.

THE RELIGIOUS leaders of the Shi'ite community are far more active and aggressive than their Sunni counterparts. Unlike the Sunnis, who are tolerant, especially as regards the sons of the Prophet, Shi'ites are highly xenophobic and withdrawn, even in dealing with non-Shi'ite Moslems. The apostate from Islam is considered to be physically impure, and a Shi'ite is forbidden to eat from a dish that an apostate has used. The Shi'ites tend to zealotry, fanaticism and to extreme rigidity.

The Shi'ites have produced a number of splinter groups, which are quite extraordinary, including the Alawis of Syria and Turkey and the Druze. In their basic structures, they contain elements that are not derived from Islam.

The Shi'ites comprise some 28 per cent of the Moslem population of Lebanon, where Moslems are roughly 52 per cent of the population, but again, this is an estimate, since the Lebanese, for internal political reasons, have refrained from conducting a census.

The relative importance of this minority group is constantly growing, due to their high birthrate, some 3.3 per cent per year.

The Shi'ites are the majority group in Southern Lebanon, accounting for some 80 per cent of Tyre's population and 62 per cent of Sidon. They represent roughly one-third of the inhabitants of the Bekaa Valley.

There are also sizeable Shi'ite enclaves in the poorer suburbs of Beirut. Many of these Shi'ite Moslems originated in Southern Lebanon and migrated to the capital to escape shelling and other military actions, while others migrated in search of employment. The Shi'ites were given official recognition as a separate Moslem entity by the French mandatory government in 1926.

MOST OF the members of the Shi'ite community are under the

direct rule of clan heads. The patriarchs of the extended family govern absolutely, with their power hardly affected by secular injunctions. As a result, the Shi'ite community is poorly educated, suffers from poverty, from insufficient social services and a multiplicity of health problems. The Shi'ites have minimal representation in the government bureaucracy and the situation is worse in the military. They are a clanish people with no feelings of Lebanese nationalism and hold few political opinions.

The Shi'ites in urban areas, living at a distance from the traditional, feudal family enclaves of the south, filled the vacuum created by the break by participating in the left-wing political organizations that emerged in the '70s. It was in the cities that the *Amal* movement was born.

The *Amal* (Hope) party, also known as the Oppressed (*El Machroum*), was founded by Musa Sadr, a religious leader and the son of an influential Shi'ite family, well-represented in Lebanon, Iran and Iraq. (Bani Sadr, former foreign minister of Iran, is a member of this family.)

Before starting the *Amal* movement, Musa Sadr twice convened the Supreme Shi'ite Moslem Council, in 1962 and 1964, with the purpose of obtaining the blessing of the religious leadership for a popular movement that would speak for the oppressed Shi'ite masses. Musa Sadr was kidnapped four years ago and is believed to have been murdered by Libyan agents. His sister lives in Tyre, where she operates an orphanage.

From its inception, *Amal* called for an end to the oppression of the Shi'ite minority, and concerned itself with their rights. However, even during its first years, the movement became identified with left-wing parties and the PLO, and helped them build up their spheres of influence and military might. *Amal* came to be ruled in turn by the PLO.

The dependence of the Shi'ites on the terrorists caused them to lose a great deal of political strength and by 1978, the *Amal* movement had dwindled from several thousands at its peak to a few hundred adherents.

LATER, the party again rose in numbers under the guidance of Muhammad Mahdi Shams el Din, who replaced Musa Sadr as head of the Supreme Shi'ite Moslem Council and who is a member of the Lebanese parliament, together with Hassan El Husseni, secretary of the movement.

At present, the political brain of the Shi'ite movement is undoubtedly Nabieh el Bari, a pragmatic

Dry Bones

...AND A
PLAGUE
WAS BROUGHT
AGAINST THE
LAND

AND PHARAOH
SAID:
"I WILL LET
MY PEOPLE
GO!"

BUT AGAIN
HIS HEART
HARDENED
AND HE
WOULD NOT!

AND ANOTHER
PLAGUE WAS
BROUGHT
AGAINST THE
LAND

AND LO,
THE PEOPLE
WONDERED:
"FOR WHAT
DOETH HE WAIT
THIS TIME?"

AND HE
ANSWERED:
"FOR FROGS
TO COME
UP UPON
THE LAND."

leader who represents the Shi'ites of Lebanon in the Salvation Committee created by President Elias Sarkis.

The increase in activity and power of the Shi'ite movement is, it appears, in great part due to the fact that *Amal* received assistance from highly influential members of Khomeini's government-in-exile during the rule of the Shah.

Slowly a sense of strength and substance is developing in the ranks of the *Amal* movement, a new up-right stance, which has been reflected in energetic demonstrations in Beirut. Some of them were against the terrorist power in the district. The movement even hijacked Lebanese planes in an attempt to force the return of their missing leader, Musa Sadr.

Twenty-two of the ninety-nine representatives in the Lebanese parliament are Shi'ites, and traditionally the job of speaker goes to one of them. At present, the post is held by Kamal el Assad.

DURING the period of their waning power, the Shi'ites who were not within the areas controlled by Sa'ad Haddad and his militia tended to give their support to the terrorist organizations or to the Lebanese left, who appeared to be the defenders of all underprivileged ethnic groups. However, the stronger and the more violent the hold of the PLO grew, so the objections to its rule increased, and many

Shi'ites began to support the right of President Sarkis to rule throughout Lebanon, including the south. They also supported his plan to spread Lebanese military forces throughout the southern area and in the enclaves of the PLO. The situation reached a point where there were bloody clashes between *Amal* and the PLO in Southern Lebanon.

As far back as 1926, while the French held a mandate in Lebanon, there were already families and clans, particularly in the Bekaa Valley, who advocated the annexation of the Sunni and Shi'ite enclaves of the Bekaa by Syria. They supported a line of Arab nationalism. In addition to this, there is an affinity between the Shi'ites and the Alawis currently in power in Syria, both on a basis of religious tenets and of their shared minority status in the Moslem world. Musa Sadr maintained close ties with the Syrian Government and met often with President Hafez Assad.

Much of the relationship between Sadr and Assad was based on the latter's moral and political debt to the imam who had, at a certain critical period, been responsible for the acceptance of the Alawis as a part of the Shi'ite Moslem bloc by the Supreme Shi'ite Moslem Council. This move gave legitimization to a group orthodox Moslems consider aberrant, one that has strayed from Islam.

The writer is the editor of the Jerusalem Arabic newspaper *Al-Anba*.

READERS' LETTERS

THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — I have just read the scandalous declaration of the Executive Committee of the World Council of Churches of July 29, condemning once more the State of Israel for her intervention in Lebanon.

As an Israeli Protestant theologian, who has lived here for 20 years, I would like to stress the following facts in this respect:

1. When the State of Israel was in great danger, as during her long and bloody struggle for independence, just before the Six Day War, and during the first days of the Yom Kippur War, those churches did not say a word.

2. When Jerusalem was besieged and bombed for months by the Arab Legion under the command of British officers (most of them Anglicans and Presbyterians) these churches did not say a word either.

3. During the Six Day War, the Lutheran Federation, of all churches (the disgusting anti-Semitic teachings of Martin Luther should be remembered) sent an ultimatum to the Israeli government because the IDF was occupying the grounds of the Lutheran Church and Hospital on Mount Scopus. Where was the ultimatum sent by the same Lutheran Church to King Hussein of Jordan when that king sent his army to the same grounds in order to bomb Jerusalem?

4. It is a well-known fact that some churches in the Middle East condemned the Vatican's decision to promote new relations with Judaism.

5. The Executive Committee of the WCC in Geneva has been for years under the spell of the Orthodox Churches (both Greek and Russian) with their double tradition of religious anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism. The late Charles

Westphal, former President of the French Protestant Federation and member of the Executive of the WCC, told me that the anti-Israel declarations of that body were all promoted by the Orthodox Churches, the Russians acting on Moscow's orders — orders sometimes given by telephone in the middle of sessions.

6. The Reverend Jacques Maury, current President of the French Protestant Federation and a member of the delegation sent by the WCC to Beirut, has asked the French Protestant Churches to stop their pilgrimages to Israel. I certainly hope the French Protestant Churches will ignore this demand.

As a member of the French Reformed Church, born in Lorraine, I accuse the gentlemen in Geneva of intellectual dishonesty, flagrant hypocrisy, and subtle anti-Semitism disguised as open anti-Zionism.

I accuse them of contempt for the biblical prophecies concerning the return of Israel to Zion (and not to Palestine, as this term is never mentioned in our Bible, but is an anti-Jewish invention of the Romans in the second century).

I accuse them of siding with the arch-murderers, Arafat, Habbash and Company.

CLAUDE DUVERNOY,
Founder and Director,
Christian Action for Israel
Jerusalem.

PENFRIENDS

REGINA MORTENSEN (J4), of Otto Bannersvej 40, 9300 Saeby, Denmark, would like to correspond with young Israelis between the ages of 14 and 18. She likes gymnastics and animals.

REALISTIC APPROACH

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — Aaron Leibel ("The Ideologically Blind" — July 18) calls Uri Avnery and Shmuel Katz "ideologues...who ignore reality." While Leibel is certainly correct about Uri Avnery, he is dead wrong when it comes to Shmuel Katz. Katz is, first of all, a brilliant historical writer; his book, "Battleground," is a classic on the Arab-Israeli conflict. Unlike most Israelis and Americans who were completely overwhelmed by the fact that an Arab leader would visit Jerusalem and declare that he recognized Israel, Katz kept his eyes open, read the pertinent documents and assessed the facts.

He read the Camp David accords and correctly noted that not only had Israel relinquished Sinai, but if the accords were followed, Israel had most likely relinquished sovereignty over Judea and Samaria in spite of Prime Minister Begin's protestations. (One wonders how many Israeli politicians and American Jewish leaders actually read and understood the Camp David accords.)

Shmuel Katz was astute enough to realize that the peace option and the war option are for the Egyptians two sides of the same coin. He believes that the Egyptians will pursue the peace option until they have wrung every last concession from Israel, and then return to confrontation against a weakened Israel. It is possible — though unlikely — that he is mistaken, but his reading is consonant with the facts. He understands reality; he does not "ignore" it.

LEO SAMET
SHARON SHAPIRO
Silver Springs, Md.

AMERICAN JEWISH SUPPORT

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — In a series of articles, Leon Hadar has made a serious attempt to assess the reactions and dissensions within the American Jewish community. He is certainly to be commended for a knowledgeable and well-researched job. If a fault is to be found in his articles, it is his allotting equal time to those who support the Israeli government's action in Lebanon and those who oppose it. This would make it appear that the American Jewish community is equally divided. This is not so. The large majority of American Jews support the Israeli action.

Since Americans for a Safe Israel was extensively quoted in one of Mr. Hadar's articles, I must — in order to set the record straight — correct some instances of misplaced emphasis. Mr. Hadar correctly quotes me as saying that a UJA donor told me he would no longer give to Israel. By itself, this quotation would indicate a falling away of support for Israel. I had also told Mr. Hadar, however, that I had received many phone calls and letters in response to a letter I had written to the *New York Times* supporting Israel and attacking the *Times'* op-ed page imbalance. The overwhelming number of calls and letters were supportive of Israel by a ratio of over 10-1.

There were only one or two negative calls.

In several instances, Mr. Hadar writes that Americans for a Safe Israel are very critical of the Jewish establishment's failure to effectively support Israel during the Lebanese crisis. While the community's response has certainly not been all that it should, our criticism was a more general one and not specifically directed towards recent events. In fact, the Jewish establishment has been rather supportive of Israel during the past months: rallies in New York and Washington, statements of support, etc.

One of the problems Jewish leadership is facing is that, while the American media are anxious to give large-scale coverage to every anti-Israel remark, statements supportive of Israel are mostly ignored.

The brunt of our criticism has been directed towards the media and towards those Jews who align themselves with Israel's many and outspoken enemies, denounce the State of Israel and, in the words of Ruth Wisse, "echo the Arab language of delegitimation."

PETER E. GOLDMAN
Director,
Americans for a Safe Israel
New York.

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